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THE

REFLECTOR:

REPRESENTING

Human Affairs,

As they are; and may be improved.

Veluti in Speculo.

LONDON:
Printed for T. LONGMAN, in *Pater-noſter-Row.*
MDCCL.

AG
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S53r

To the AUTHOR.

SIR,

I Perſuade myſelf neither the Public nor you will be diſpleaſed at my returning, in this Shape, your own Work into your Hand.

No Author, that I know of, has wrote more uſefully than yourſelf; or ſhewn a greater Regard to the Welfare of Mankind.

As you are ſo happily qualified, I, with Pleaſure, preſent this Taſte of you to the Reader, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged

and moſt humble Servant,

The Publiſher.

8036307

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SECT.

SECT. I.

Of Literature and Education.

I.

Scheme of the Work.

THE Sciences diſtinguiſh Men from Brutes; but it is Morality that muſt make us good Men, and promote the true Happineſs of ourſelves and others. No Knowledge deſerves the Name of a Science that has not this for its End. The common Learning is a different thing. Thoſe Men are uſually called Learned who ſpend their Lives in reading the Claſſics, ſtudying Antiquities, Languages, Curioſities, &c. without making any conſiderable Progreſs in Philoſophy and Manners. But the truly Learned are Men of meritorious Abilities, who bend their Endeavours to promote human Felicity: which cannot be effectually done without Morality; whoſe Fruit appears in a virtuous and uſeful Life. Morality teaches us how to diſtinguiſh and value Virtue as our Friend; how to diſcover and avoid Vice as our Enemy; and by what Means true Government, and the Sweets of Society are procured and propagated. Other Sciences belong Morality, what.

to few; but Morality to all, as well as Religion; of which it is the juſt Foundation. Morality directs the Laws which command what Men ſhould do, and what they ſhould avoid, in order to forward the Happineſs of every Individual, and of the whole Community. It is therefore the Duty, Intereſt, and Happineſs of every Man, eſpecially of Governors, thoroughly to underſtand and practiſe Morality. Reading of Hiſtory is one Means of attaining this Science; but more Streſs ſhould be laid upon practical Obſervation, and ſober Reflection, in the Uſe of which all young Gentlemen muſt be early initiated; more particularly the young Nobility of a Country, as ſo much depends upon their purſuing the true Path to their own Happineſs, in advancing that of others, by Example, Encouragement, and the Direction of civil Affairs; to which they are born, and ought to be bred. In this Light young Gentlemen ſhould be accuſtomed to the reading of Hiſtory, and taught to make a proper Uſe of it; remark upon it; compare, examine, and ſift public Occurrences, as they paſs in a State; look into the Reaſons and Motives of Laws; the Nature of Trade, Commerce, Arts and Manufactures, with the Effects they produce; ſo as clearly to diſcern where, and when. and how theſe tend to promote the Happineſs or Miſery of a People. Young Gentlemen muſt be taught to ſet their own Minds right; manage their private Affairs; correct their vicious Habits; and to take Delight in the Practice of Virtue; ſo as ſenſibly to feel, and remain immoveably convinced, that it is their Intereſt to

connect

connect general with particular Happineſs; and that by procuring ſolid Praiſe, Eſteem, and Love, they may make themſelves live in Glory, and enable their Inferiors to live in Comfort.

To forward this End; to ſhew the Nature and Effects of Virtue and Vice; expoſe the Fopperies of Learning, and recommend good Government and true Religion, the following Eſſays are publiſh'd, as a Prelude to a real Syſtem of Manners. Deſign of the Work.

But, it may be proper to remind the preſent Age, that, "The Accuſation and Arraignment, both "of human Nature and Arts, proceeds from a "good Principle, and tends to the beſt of Pur-"poſes; whilſt the contrary Temper is odious "to the Deity, and unbeneficial to Men. For "they who break out into extravagant Praiſes of "human Nature, and the Arts in Vogue, and "will needs have the Sciences to be already com-"plete, not only ſhew little Regard to the Di-"vine Being, whilſt they extol their own Inven-"tions almoſt as high as his Perfections; but "really become unſerviceable in Life, by "vainly imagining they are already got to the "Extent of Things, and may there dream in "indolent Security. On the contrary, they who "arraign and charge human Nature home, and "are full of Complaints againſt the Imperfections "of Men and Arts, not only preſerve a more "juſt and modeſt Senſe of Mind; but are alſo "ſtirred up to freſh Induſtry, and new Diſco-"veries, for promoting the Happineſs of Man. "Is not the Ignorance and Fatality of Mankind "to be pitied, whilſt they remain Slaves to the

" Arrogance of a few of their Equals, and are " ſo doatingly fond of poor Scraps and Bits of " Philoſophy, as to fancy all Arraignment and " Accuſation thereof either unſerviceable or ma- " licious? The Procedure of bold *Empedocles*, " and modeſt *Democritus*, is greatly preferable " to the dogmatical, tyrannical, ſelf-ſufficient " Conduct of *Ariſtotle*, and his zealous Followers. " Mankind are therefore to be admoniſhed, that " the Arraignment of Nature and Art is pleaſing " to the Creator; and tends to human Advan- " tage: for the fond Opinion, that we have al- " ready acquired Knowledge enough, is the prin- " cipal Reaſon why we have acquir'd ſo little; " and ſtill live in groſs Ignorance, and proporti- " onable Miſery." *Verulam de Sapientia Veterum.*

Reflection to be improved.

The great Failing of Mankind ſeems to lye in the Want of proper Obſervation, and ſuitable Reflection; ſo as to prepare and digeſt the Materials taken in, and thence draw out and eſtabliſh ſure Rules of Practice, for ſteadily promoting particular, along with general, Happineſs; and avoiding, as much as poſſible, all Sorts of Miſery. This is an Art which we may improve, and even reduce to a Science, by the right Application and Exerciſe of our natural Abilities. Men cannot expect to be wiſer till they uſe more Reflection, and direct their Lives according to the Rules of true Knowledge and Judgment. If bad Cuſtoms and abſurd Precedents are to be made the Rules of Action, human Affairs may indeed alter, but cannot grow better.

Men

Men muſt therefore be taught to exert their Abilities; direct their Senſes to proper Objects; reflect upon what they ſee and hear; and be ſhewn how to communicate the Reſult; ſo as to contribute in the Promotion of ſound and ſerviceable Knowledge, whereon the Increaſe of human Felicity depends. And ſuch a Procedure will eaſe the Task of Governors, when they ſhall come, in earneſt, to conſider of the moſt effectual Ways and Means of rendering a Nation happy. Materials for promoting Happineſs to be procured.

Human Affairs are fluxile. Mens Minds are improveable. The innate Love of Virtue, and Deſire of Happineſs can never be totally extinguiſhed in our Natures. Every Man has, at leaſt an Idea of true Morality and good Government. A State was never ſo corrupt, but ſome Members of it wiſhed for a Reformation. When Matters are at the worſt they muſt mend. And no Man can ſay how ſoon it may be put into the Hearts of Governors, to make the Promotion of General Happineſs their primary Care, and Rule of Action; or how ſoon unexpected Events may rouze the latent Sparks of Goodneſs, into a ſober and ſteady Zeal for public Felicity. Great Alterations, and deſirable Reformations frequently depend upon apparently ſlight and trivial Cauſes, that act whilſt Men are aſleep. But it is the Duty of Philoſophers to wake, and watch, and give Notice how human Affairs ſtand; ſhew their public and private Tendency, and provide that all Things may be in Readineſs, both for Governors and People to ſet about promoting Happineſs. At leaſt it is incumbent upon Teachers to provide

that the Manners of a People may not grow quite depraved: for, Corruption of Manners muſt, by neceſſary Conſequence, introduce Miſery, defeat the very End of Society, and change the Bleſſing of Government into the heavieſt Curſe; whilſt the weak, the wicked, and moſt odious part of the Species ſhall oppreſs and trample upon the Virtuous, Wiſe, and Good; and Vice ride triumphant over Virtue. Such miſchievous Effects may, in ſome Degree, be prevented by private Care to ſpread and ripen Knowledge among a People: for whilſt Knowledge prevails, and Virtue keeps in Countenance, a State cannot be wretched. But the great Bleſſings of Society can never be enjoyed, till the Majority of the People, or at leaſt their Governors, are wiſe and virtuous; or till Morality is generally underſtood and publicly practiſed. Philoſophers therefore, and private Perſons, ſhould, with their utmoſt Efforts, endeavour to improve Morality; and raiſe it, at leaſt, to the Dignity of a Science: ſo that its Influence may diſperſe among the People, and produce the Fruits of Felicity. Perhaps this Language is not univerſally intelligible; or may appear like aiming at ideal Perfection to thoſe who conſider human Nature only in a ſelfiſh groveling State, and not as it may be improved.

Morality, how improveable.

In order to improve Morality, we might perhaps do well to imitate the Procedure of Aſtronomers and Natural Philoſophers, who firſt note the Motions, Phænomena, and Properties of Bodies, in the Way of careful Obſervation; ſo as to fix and determine the Facts and Laws of Nature,

Nature, by Senſe and repeated Experience; till theſe Facts and Laws are thoroughly eſtabliſhed as Truths to build with. By reflecting, reaſoning upon, and comparing theſe Facts and Laws together, illuſtrating them with farther Examples and Proofs, or by Analogy from other Sciences, Natural Philoſophers extend their Doctrine, and, by degrees, form a ſound and ſerviceable Theory; from whence they deduce Rules, and lay out Plans, for ſupplying the Wants, and promoting the Knowledge of Mankind.

Thus in Morality, the Phænomena of Men are firſt to be duly obſerved; the general Properties and Laws of the Species to be diſcovered; and then the leſs general, down to each Individual, as they come in review before us. Whence, at length, general and particular Laws of the Species may be found; and a kind of Theory erected, in conformity with Nature: by which Means we ſhall be enabled to know ourſelves better, underſtand the Moral World as well as the Natural, and learn the amiable Art of promoting Happineſs, and avoiding Miſery. To know the Natural World and remain ignorant of the Moral, is a Diſgrace to human Nature.

That this Method is practicable, appears by the Example of the Lord *Verulam*; who had a particular Turn to it; and ſometimes uſed it with ſuch Effect, as to riſe above other Men. When this great Man condeſcends to work intirely with vulgar Notions, his Buildings are ſlight and ordinary; yet as good as the Materials will afford:

for the Skill of the Architect is not to be queſtioned. But his Fountains of Equity are dry Ciſterns, and a lean Sacrifice to the Common Law of *England*. His Sketch of Government ſkulks behind the Subject; tarniſhes the Dignity of the Author; and ends in a barren Compliment to King *James*. His Rules for the Conduct of Stateſmen are like the tinſel Praiſe beſtowed upon wrong Things eſtabliſh'd, or authorized only by Cuſtom. But his Sketch for the Art of riſing in Life, is conducted in his own natural, deep, and ſagacious Manner; and ſhews how he could have performed in the Science of Morality, if he had pleaſed. Indeed, he frequently ſhines in his Moral Eſſays, and *Sapientia Veterum*; but we perceive his Caution, even whilſt he profeſſes to ſhew the *Interiora Rerum*. The beſt Bowl may have its Biaſs. A good Head may be too attentive to Court-Favours; and grow too delicate for public Service. *Bacon* judged it ſafer to attack and demoliſh the droniſh Admirers of *Ariſtotle*, than to provoke the Hornets of the Law, the Waſps of the Court, or ſearch the ſweet Hives of the Clergy: having here barely contented himſelf to drop ſome Seeds of Reformation ſo ſecretly, that few Readers perceive them. But when this Author is unreſtrain'd by Fears and Forms; when his Shackles are off, and his Mind at Liberty to follow Nature and her Laws; it is then he appears in his Glory, and outſtrips the reſt of Mankind in Teaching. It is then he plans out ſuch Works, and delivers ſuch Rules and Precepts for promoting the Sciences, and human

human Happineſs, as no Man can read without Aſtoniſhment and Gratitude.

The Foundation of Morality, as a Science, muſt be laid in ſuch a Hiſtory of Man, as may manifeſt his Nature from his Actions; ſhew, what a Kind of Creature he is, in Fact; determine his little Sphere of Action; his Obligations to the Creator; his Powers and Defects; his improveable Gifts and Talents; his Appetites and Paſſions; his Wants and Weakneſſes; the Advantages he receives, and may farther receive from Society; demonſtrate how his ſocial Ties oblige him to act as a rational Creature, and promote his own Happineſs along with that of his Species.

If ſuch a Hiſtory were to be attempted, it might perhaps be proper to collect and range the Materials for it, under the general Heads of *Literature*, *Intercourſe*, *Government*, and *Religion*.

Under *Literature* would come the whole Province of Education, and the Cultivation of the Sciences; including the ſeveral Methods of preparing and fitting Men, from their early Youth, for the ſeveral Poſts and Profeſſions; ſo as to furniſh States and Kingdoms with proper Perſons, in all Capacities, for carrying on the Scheme of human Felicity, in all its Branches.

Under the general Head of *Intercourſe*, Men muſt be deſcribed in their common Occurrences, Dealings, and Tranſactions, exactly as they are; with all their Virtues and Vices, Follies and Abſurdities about them; and the Ways be ſhewn, of correcting our Errors and Frailties, ſo as to make Virtue and Beneficence predominate over

Vice

Vice and Miſchief; enable the Good to check the Bad, and thus prepare the Way for true *Government*; without which the Sources of human Felicity cannot be kept open.

The hurtful Follies and Vices of Men are to be reſtrained by Laws. Good Manners, uſeful Faſhions, and laudable Cuſtoms cannot be introduced and followed, unleſs countenanced and practiſed by Superiors. Hence it requires the greateſt Care and Prudence to provide, that the Nature, Deſign, and Uſe of *Government* and *Laws* be underſtood; and the Rules thereof applied; as upon this Foundation human Happineſs, in Society, muſt ever depend. Nothing can be well regulated in Society without good Government.

Religion recommends this great Work; and not only preſcribes the Rules for promoting Happineſs here; but has alſo a tender Regard to Mens Happineſs hereafter: and therefore we ought to be extremely ſolicitous to have our Religion ſound and pure.

The Order of the Heads, as here laid down, might indeed be inverted; and theſe Memoirs begin with Religion, and the Works of the Creator; ſo far as we know them, by the direct Evidence of Senſe; or can make them our own by reflecting on the Nature of Man, and the Relations he ſtands in; whence every Point of Morality is directly and immediately deducible, with the utmoſt poſſible Efficacy, Energy, and Impreſſion; ſo as to command and enforce Obedience, even if Gratitude and Love to the Author of our Being, were wanting. But before Men

can

can be properly addreſs'd in this Manner, we ſeem to require more civilizing, and a larger Baſis of Natural Philoſophy, and Moral Theology, to act upon. The Underſtanding muſt be opened, and informed by Degrees, in order more effectually to comprehend the amazing Syſtem of the Univerſe; wherein Man makes ſo ſmall a Part, and, if he could ſee himſelf, ſo ſtrange a Figure, for want of that Knowledge and Virtue which he might attain to. For the preſent, let us take the Outlines of a Syſtem, conſiſting, like our Globe, of its four Quarters, *Literature*, *Intercourſe*, *Government*, and *Religion*; in each of which it is every Man's Intereſt, and may be his Pleaſure, to make Diſcoveries, for his own and the World's Advantage. The more any Man's Endeavours are directed to ſuch an End, the wiſer he will be in this Life; and, if we believe Revelation, the more bleſſed in the next.

II.

Of Writings deſigned to improve Morality.

MORAL Writings are of two Kinds, ſerious, and jocoſe. The ſerious we find, under the Title of Ethics, in thoſe Works of the Ancients, which treat of Virtue and Vice in the Abſtract: whoſe Uſefulneſs cannot be queſtioned, if Men could be brought to delight in them. Two kinds of Moral Writings.

But

But as the Moral Characters, and Social Duties, are there nakedly deſcribed, theſe Writings do not pleaſe in proportion to their Dignity. Other Philoſophers, therefore, in order to recommend Virtue, have ingeniouſly endeavoured to allure the Reader, awaken his Attention, and excite his Curioſity. In this View, ſeveral have cloathed Morality with Fiction, or dreſſed it in Fable: and we ſee, from ſeveral Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, that ſuch Inventions are ancient; having been in Uſe, with the People of God, from the earlieſt Ages.

Fables. *Æſop*, the celebrated *Phrygian*, was the firſt who made a Collection of ſuch Moral Fables; which are ſtill read with Pleaſure and Advantage. Many have followed his Example: and, not only the ſacred Writers of the New Teſtament, but even our Saviour himſelf, made Uſe of Parables and Similitudes, under which to convey and enforce Morality.

Dialogues. Others have choſe the Dialogue Way of Writing, or that Method of inſtructing which goes by the Name of *Socratic*; becauſe *Socrates* was the firſt who, as *Plato* informs us, rightly employed it. Many have attempted to imitate *Socrates* in this Method of inſtructing; which ſtill remains in full Uſe. For as Dialogue keeps up the Reader's Attention, and affords a full Opportunity for Illuſtration and Proof, it has been uſefully employed in teaching not only Morality, but Natural Philoſophy, Divinity, Hiſtory, Mathematics, &c.

Hence

Hence alſo proceeded the Art of Romance-writing, at preſent ſo much in Vogue; an Invention which, according to *Verdere*, was owing to the *Normans* of *France*; theſe Fictions being originally written in the old *Norman* Language; and the Writings themſelves intitled *Normances*; tho' the Name was afterwards altered to that of Romances: for the *Spaniards*, who took them from the *French*, call'd them *Romanzes*; and ſo do the *Italians*. This Kind of Writing has alſo its Advantage. The *Greeks* made Uſe of it: and we have ſtill remaining two ancient *Greek* Romances; one by *Achilles Tatius*, and the other by *Heliodorus*. The *Metamorphoſis* of *Apuleius*, is the beſt ancient *Latin* Romance; and *Barclay's Argenis*, the beſt of the modern Sort in that Language. But, moſt of theſe Romances appear to be written by Perſons of Leiſure, in the Way of Amuſement. Some of them however, under the fictitious Appearance of Hiſtory, contain weighty Matter, both in Civil Policy and Morality; ſo that the reading of them proves as profitable as pleaſant. Romances

Among the modern Moral Romances, the famous Archbiſhop of *Cambray's Telemachus* is in greateſt Eſteem; and held as a Maſter-piece. But I muſt frankly profeſs, that I cannot diſcover all thoſe Excellencies which moſt People find in this Work. Its florid Style, tho' excellent in Poetry, ſeems very unſuitable in Proſe; and the Inſtructions, tho' in themſelves uſeful, are to be found in moſt of the Writings which treat of Virtue, Telemachus.

Virtue, and Government: whereas, to make a Book a Maſter-piece, it ſhould be an Original; and not wholly contain ſuch Matters as are vulgarly known already. But the Rules and Maxims laid down in this Romance are common, trite, and not always the beſt; ſo that the Author is more to be regarded for his Style, and Conduct, than for the Subſtance of the Work.

Pamela. There are Swarms of Moral Romances. One, of late Date, divided the World into ſuch oppoſite Judgments, that ſome extolled it to the Stars, whilſt others treated it with Contempt. Whence aroſe, particularly among the Ladies, two different Parties, *Pameliſts* and *Antipameliſts*. This Book deſcribes a poor young Chambermaid, with whom a Gentleman of Fortune falls in Love, and endeavours, by Power and Subtilty, to corrupt; but her Virtue and Chaſtity prove ſo great, that ſhe could not be prevailed upon to grant unwarrantable Favours. Hence, after ſome time, his impure Love turns to Eſteem; inſomuch, that, without regarding the Inequality of their Conditions, he marries her. Some look upon this young Virgin as an Example for Ladies to follow; nay, there have been thoſe, who did not ſcruple to recommend this Romance from the Pulpit. Others, on the contrary, diſcover in it, the Behaviour of an hypocritical, crafty Girl, in her Courtſhip; who underſtands the Art of bringing a Man to her Lure. Both theſe Judgments, I think, are in the Extreme. For we cannot entirely rely upon the

Conduct

Conduct of ſuch a Girl; becauſe we frequently find, that Men are impoſed upon by pretended Virtue: and yet every Inſtance of Virtue muſt not be deemed Hypocriſy. Women of real Religion may be found, who have no ſuch ſiniſter Views. I comply ſo far with the Ladies, whoſe Friendſhip I always cultivate, as to reckon *Pamela* of this laſt good Sort; eſpecially as, in her Proſperity, her Conduct is ſimilar to what it was before; ſo that ſhe pleaſes every body by her Civility, Modeſty, and obliging Behaviour. Her Hiſtory, indeed, would have been more exemplary, and her Conduct leſs exceptionable, if this Heroine, after ſuffering ſo many Perſecutions, had continued in her low Condition; for, thus ſhe would have avoided the Cenſure now paſs'd upon her. At leaſt, ſhe might have made her Admirer wait a few Years, before ſhe concluded the Match. Nevertheleſs, I approve of this Romance, ſo far as it contains juſt Sentiments, and holds out an Example of Virtue and Honour. At the ſame time, I cannot allow it to be a Maſter-piece; and by no Means think it deſerves to be recommended from the Pulpit. For tho' there are ſome inſtructive Parts in this Work; yet there are others too licentious. And certainly the Images it draws of a beautiful Woman, her Shape, Air, Neck, Breaſts, &c. which are all fully diſplay'd, cannot furniſh a proper Text for a Sermon.

The ſame Judgment may be paſs'd upon many other Moral Romances; wherein the Characters are uſually rais'd ſo high, that they rather ſeem drawn

Romances in general.

drawn for Angels, than to ſhew what Men really are, or might be made. Courage, Conſtancy, Love, &c. are here ſo ſublimed and abſtracted, that the Reader, inſtead of ſound Senſe, gets nothing but abſurd, ſtrained, Characters, and unnatural Repreſentations. The Reading of ſuch Books cannot be recommended; eſpecially ſince there is ſomething in them capable of giving a wrong Turn, not only to particular Perſons, but even to a whole Nation. This induced *Cervantes* to write his admirable *Don Quixote*, in order to cure the perverted Taſte, and monſtrous Rodomontade, wherewith *Spain*, by the reading of wild Romances, was ſtrangely infatuated.

Feigned Voyages.

We Moderns have found a particular Pleaſure in thoſe moral Performances, publiſhed under the fictitious Titles of *Voyages*, *Travels*, *Letters*, *Spectators*, &c. Feigned Voyages may be well adapted to improve Morality; and many Pieces of this kind have already ſucceeded. An Abuſe, however, is crept into this kind of Writing alſo; for there are ſome, who, under Pretence of deſcribing imaginary Countries, have vented various deteſtable Notions, both againſt Religion and Morality, too ſhocking to be mentioned. Some of theſe Voyages are wrote in the ſame Manner with *Lucian's*; which contains nothing but Raillery: and of this kind *Bidderman's Eutopia*, with others that reſemble it, are moſt in Eſteem. The feigned Voyages wrote by Dr. *Swift*, are a Mixture of Jeſt and Earneſt; but Jeſt has the upper Hand. In *Klim's Subterraneous Voyage* is alſo a Mixture of Jeſt and Earneſt; but

but more of the Serious. This Piece contains ſo many living Characters, as might afford Materials for a little Syſtem of Morality.

Other Moderns deliver their Morality in the Way of ſuppoſed Letters; and among theſe, the moſt celebrated are the well-wrote Letters of the *Turkiſh Spy*. And of late, this kind of Writing has greatly prevailed; ſo that we ſee every Year productive of Letters, under the Title of *Perſian*, *Chineſe*, *Indian*, *Jewiſh*, and *Egyptian*. The firſt *Perſian* Letters are juſtly admired; as containing much good Matter, of new and original Invention. I call them the firſt Letters; becauſe there have been others, ſince publiſhed, under the ſame Title. Fictitious Letter-Writing.

Some Years ago, certain Perſons of good Taſte and Genius, joined in writing Papers upon different Parts of Morality. Theſe Papers were firſt publiſhed ſingly, and afterwards collected into Volumes, under the Title of the *Spectator*. This Collection being not the Work of one Author, the Papers are very diſſimilar. Some of them are new, and labour'd with ſo much Grace and Strength, that they may juſtly paſs for Maſter-pieces; whilſt others are but middling, and the greateſt Part of little Value at preſent. Whence the *French* Tranſlator thought proper to drop ſeveral of them; and it were to be wiſhed he had omitted more. Spectators.

Many Authors have unſucceſsfully imitated this Work; for the new *Spectators* are no way comparable to the beſt Papers of the old one. Moſt of the foreign *Spectators* are, like the *Engliſh*, a

Collection of Eſſays by different Hands: and ſome of them juſtly deſerve the Preference to the *French Spectator*; wherein the Morality appears much more ſhining than ſolid. The modern *French* Moraliſts, in general, have more regard to Shew than Reality. A polite Style appears to be their principal View. Their Thoughts and Reflections are commonly beſtowed upon painting the favourite Paſſions, and the Bent of the Ladies; which makes one principal Part, both of their jocoſe and ſerious Writings; their Morality, and their Plays: whence a Play with them, is no Play at all, unleſs it turn upon Love, and end in a Wedding. They affect to ſhew a certain external Gentility; and look upon other Writers as groſs, who in the repreſenting of Vices go to the Point, and directly apply to the Cure: whilſt theſe polite Authors are content to blazon and diſplay certain Foibles and Levities, with a ſuperficial gloſſy Morality, that goes no deeper than the Skin.

Modern French Morality.

But this is only to be underſtood of the later *French* Moraliſts; for as to *Montagne*, *Charron*, *Moliere*, *Boileau*, *le Noble*, and others of the laſt Century; they treated Morality after the Model of the Ancients; and therefore their Writings will remain immortal. But every Age has its particular Taſte; and it happens with the *French* Writings as with their Cloaths, which change their Faſhion ſo much, that the Dreſs of one Year ſhall appear comely and decent, but that of another phantaſtic or odious. Many judicious Perſons complain of this bad Taſte in *France*; and their Authors

The French Moraliſts of the laſt Century.

thors weakly excuſe themſelves, by ſaying, they muſt adapt their Writings to the Taſte of their Readers. But who ſhould endeavour to correct and reform the Public Taſte, if Writers do not?

Under the jocoſe Morality, may be compre- Satyr.
hended *Satyr* and *Plays*. In *Satyr* we have two ancient Authors, *Horace* and *Juvenal*, whom the Moderns follow as Patterns. Among the modern Satyriſts, *Boileau* deſervedly claims the Boileau.
Preference; not only in reſpect of true Politeneſs and Style, but Choice of Subject. He has reſtrained the Licentiouſneſs of the ancient Satyr, and paved the Way to a more juſt and temperate Kind: tho' it may fairly be ſaid, that he ſometimes tranſgreſſes his own Rules, and ſatyrizes Perſons by Name; which is not allowable.

But of all the Kinds of Writing, none is bet- Plays.
ter adapted, to recommend Morality, and ſhew the Nature of Virtue, and Vice, in an agreeable inſtructive Manner, than Plays. The Ancient Comedy is extremely ſtrong, and ſtrikes deep; but is withal, too coarſe and biting; as plainly appears by the remaining Comedies of *Ariſtophanes*. *Menander* is the firſt, among the *Greeks*, who exhibited Morality in a leſs ſhocking Manner: but of all the Plays he wrote, not one is preſerved to our Times.

Among the *Roman* Writers of Comedy, *Plau-* Plautus
tus and *Terence* are the principal: and the Learn- and
ed are divided in Opinion about them. The ge- Terence.
nerality prefer *Terence* to *Plautus*; but I cannot concur. The Style of *Terence* indeed, is purer, and the Regularity of his Plays greater, than in

Plautus, ſo as to have fewer Failings: but I think *Plautus*, with all his Faults, is incomparably the better Comic Poet. I compare the Plays of *Terence* to an ordinary faultleſs Face; but thoſe of *Plautus* to an extraordinary Beauty, with her Specks and Moles. Learned Men may be but indifferent Judges of Plays; one grows fond of the Style, another of the Manners and Decorum, and a third of the Rules of the Drama: whereas, a Play may have Elegance, Manners, and all the Characters, be written conformable to the Rules of *Ariſtotle*, and yet be no true Comedy; which, on the other hand, may have ſome diſagreeable Blemiſhes, and yet be a Maſter-piece. No one can deny that *Plautus's Aulularia* has its Faults; yet it ſtands at the Head of all the Comedies, both ancient and modern. A ſingle *Moliere* may, in this Reſpect, prove a better Judge than a whole Univerſity. *Moliere* thought proper to imitate *Plautus* exactly; and was at the Trouble of tranſlating ſome of his Comedies for the *French* Stage. He could not promiſe himſelf the ſame Succeſs with the Comedies of *Terence*, and therefore never meddled with them; notwithſtanding their Elegance and Regularity. Some of *Plautus's* Plays, as particularly the *Aulularia*, *Amphitruo*, *Menæchmi*, *Pſeudolus*, *Moſtellaria*, &c. ſtill continue in full Vogue; and are acted with ſuch Succeſs, as never to tire the Audience. And hence appears what the Soul of Comedy is; which no Writer can poſſeſs, unleſs Nature has form'd it in him. Others, by Labour, Diligence,

ligence, Obſervation, and a diſtinguiſhing Genius, may produce regular, terſe Comedies, equal to thoſe of *Terence*; whoſe correct Style is his principal Beauty, and procures him Eſteem: but *Terence* certainly wants Invention, the *Vis comica*, the Wit and Raillery, which are the Soul, and Life, and Spirit, of Comedy. The Plays of *Plautus* have been the Support of the *European* Stage; whilſt thoſe of *Terence*, tranſlated, will not bear acting.

The Art of writing Moral Plays died with *Plautus* and *Terence*; inſomuch that *Moliere* may be reckon'd the firſt who revived departed Comedy, and brought it again upon the Stage, by copying after the Model of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. It may juſtly be ſaid of him, that he did not only happily follow, but even excelled his Maſters; ſo as, on that Account, to claim a Place amongſt the greateſt modern Philoſophers. And, certainly, no Modern has better ſtudied the human Appetites and Paſſions; which he deſcribes in ſuch a jocoſe and pleaſing Manner, as to be more entertaining and inſtructing than *Theophraſtus*. Under whatever Form, or Manner of Writing, this is performed; it becomes a Work worthy of a Philoſopher. That Morality is the moſt uſeful, which produces the beſt Effect: and I queſtion whether the moſt ſolid Exhortations of Philoſophers have produced greater Effects, in curbing the Follies, and reſtraining the Fopperies of Mankind, than the Comedies of *Moliere*; notwithſtanding he writes in the Way of Pleaſantry: and it may be Moliere.

doubted, whether the moſt labour'd Sermon can be ſo capable of converting a Hypocrite, as the *Tartuffe*; or any Funeral Oration have ſo great an Effect, as the *Feſtin de Pierre*.

Paradoxes. This may appear parodoxical; but, I hold it to be the Duty of a Writer to combat Errors, and diſtinguiſh Reality from Appearance. To ſpeak or write upon Subjects, which have already been treated of, in the ſame Manner, a thouſand times over, is neither uſeful nor entertaining. To harangue upon the bad Effects of Extravagance, Covetouſneſs, and other common Vices, is no more than declaiming in the Manner of Orators: but to diſcover, and manifeſt, how the Shadow comes to be miſtaken for the Subſtance; and how Vices come to be confounded with Virtues, is performing the Part of a Teacher. And in this Light it is, that I value parodoxical Opinions; which being once fundamentally explained, and uſefully illuſtrated, may be looked upon as new Diſcoveries.

Paradoxical Writings. But inſtead of explaining ſuch Paradoxes upon proper Principles, certain Writers have appeared, who, proud of their own Wiſdom, and ſublime Underſtandings, broach and propagate pernicious Opinions, tending to degrade and debaſe Mankind.

Mr. Bayle. Among ſuch Writers I reckon Mr. *Bayle*; who ſeems to have combated certain Opinions, merely becauſe they were generally received. In this Claſs I alſo rank another ingenious Gentleman, who pretends that all Virtues ſpring from wicked and immoral Sources; which is certainly going too far, and deſtroying Morality at once. For tho'

tho' we ſhould allow, that many uſeful Things proceed from bad Motives; and that "Pride "and Vanity have erected more Hoſpitals, than "the Virtues;" yet it does not follow, that Pride and Vanity have erected them all.

The Sophiſtry of the *Fable of the Bees* deſerves to be particularly expoſed; becauſe it undertakes to defend Vices, and to ſhew their Neceſſity in Society. This Fable pretends, "it would be im- "poſſible to render a State flouriſhing and happy, "if all bad Things, moral and natural, were "excluded out of it." In the Article of natural bad Things, perhaps the Doctrine may be tenable. As Phyſicians thrive by Sickneſs, we cannot ſuſpect their Sincerity, if they ſhould wiſh for ſickly Times. * According to the old *Greek* Poet, "few Doctors rejoice to find their Neigh- "bours healthy." A wealthy Farmer is not contented with Years of Plenty, but rejoices in Times of Scarcity; a Lawyer delights in growing Contentions; an Undertaker in Funerals; and a Soldier in War and Plunder. Hence, a certain *French* Surgeon, *Tierre de Hery*, by Name, worſhipped the Image of *Charles* the Eighth; becauſe that King firſt brought the Venereal Diſeaſe into *France:* by the curing of which the Surgeon raiſed an Eſtate. So far, therefore, the *Fable of the Bees* may poſſibly be in the right, with regard to natural Evils; but to ſuppoſe Vice and Immorality neceſſary in a State, is an abſurd and derogatory Notion, fitter for the Kingdom of

Fable of the Bees.

* See hereafter Sect. IV. Eſſay III. *Of Evil in the World.*

Darkneſs, than for Human Society. Mankind are the Creatures of GOD, not Children of the Devil: whoever would make them ſuch, may be deſervedly pitied, or held in Contempt.

Paradoxes have often lead me to enquire into the Origin of generally received Opinions; by which Means I have diſcovered, that many eſtabliſhed Maxims are not ſo much founded in Nature and Reaſon, as in Cuſtom and Reſpect. If it be objected that I entertain ſingular Opinions, and patronize Paradoxes; I anſwer, with *Chryſippus*, that this may poſſibly proceed from a Love of Truth: for, to think juſt as others do, and always to go along with the Herd, rather indicates Indolence and obſequious Belief, than any laborious Self-Reflection.

I muſt indeed confeſs, that my Taſte in Books is odd, and almoſt ſingular, ſo that I am thoroughly pleaſed with very few; and yet I have a general Love for the Sciences. The middling Authors are nauſeous to me; and I had rather read Fairy-Tales than an Author who writes below his Subject. This Taſte of mine has obliged me to read the beſt Books over and over again; in which I have found great Delight, and never grew tired. *Grotius, de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, is a great Favourite of mine; and ſtill has all the Charms of Novelty, tho' I have read him hundreds of times. This extraordinary Man, who improved the Doctrine of Morality, has been followed by Numbers; but, in my Opinion, not one has arrived at his Perfection. Every Sentence of his is a Rule, every Rule an Oracle, and his Style

Grotius.

ſo

ſo beautiful and charming, that I read him as I do one of the beſt ancient Writers. And doubtleſs the Fame of this great Author, and the Doctrines he delivers, will deſcend to lateſt Poſterity.

Of all the *Roman* Writers, I take *Petronius* to be the greateſt univerſal Maſter; for he appears perfect in every Point. His Hiſtory is ſo clear and expreſſive, ſo pure and elegant, that he conteſts the Prize with *Livy*. His Poetry is *Virgilian*; his Satyr is ſprightly, pointed, and ſhews the richeſt Vein. We every where find in him ſuch Strokes of Wit, as give him the Preference to the Comic Poets. He is the only *Latin* Author, who ſpeaks the Cant and common Language of the Characters he introduces, and paints their Babble in its genuine lively Colours; ſo that when he relates the Diſcourſe of *Trimalchio's* Gueſts, one would think he had ſpent his Life in ſuch contemptible Company. But as he alſo deſcribes Obſcenities, he is, by no Means, an Author fit for the peruſal of Youth. Petronius.

My ſtrange Taſte prefers *Ovid* to *Virgil*. Perhaps I may be wrong in this; but I cannot hitherto be convinced of it: for I have never yet met with a Poet, in any degree, comparable to *Ovid*; who, whether he writes high or low, conciſe or full, jocoſe or ſerious, is always charming to me. His *Metamorphoſis*, tho' writ in a pompous Style, is yet ſo flowing and eaſy, that Children and Beginners in *Latin* may read him. If we compare *Ovid* with other Poets, they all appear artificial, and he alone natural. Nay, Ovid.

let

let *Ovid* be tranſlated into Proſe, and he does not loſe his lofty native Spirit: and this Spirit it is, that particularly diſtinguiſhes his Poems from Proſaic Writings. *Proſodia*, which is the Plague of other Poets, never ſtands in the Way of *Ovid*. His Verſe flows in ſuch a natural Order of Words, as if he were not obliged to obſerve the Rules of Poetry: and this again remarkably diſtinguiſhes him from other Poets, who invert and jumble the Order of Words, in ſuch a Manner as disfigures their Verſe, and makes all appear a *Hyſteron Proteron*. *Ovid* not only obſerves this eaſy natural Order of Words, in his Love-Poems, his Elegies, and Epiſtles, but likewiſe in his moſt magnificent Deſcriptions, and Transformations; nay, he never quits it even in his lively, ſpirituous, and fiery Paſſages. The Meaſuring of Syllables, and the Scanning of the Verſe, appear to have been no Reſtraint upon this genuine Poet. Nor can any other be produced like him, in lofty, clear, and moving Expreſſion. What other Poets endeavour, with immenſe Labour, to bring about in Eſſays, ſo as to render them clear and intelligible, *Ovid* performs in entire Books together, with the greateſt Perſpicuity and Energy of Diction, and not the leaſt Appearance of Conſtraint. In one Word, *Ovid* is to be reckon'd among thoſe who are Poets by Birth and Nature: and we may well ſay of him, that he was nurſed by the Muſes. The chief Reaſon of his being ſo little reliſhed, I take to be his Commonneſs; not only becauſe he is a Claſſic of the lower Forms, but becauſe his Meta-

Metamorphoſes are generally uſed by Poets, Painters, Sculptors, Gravers, Players, Learned and Unlearned; who have turned and twiſted him, till the Potters are grown tired of their Clay, and the Confectioners cloy'd with their Sweetmeats. Almoſt every Verſe in *Ovid* is an Epigram, where Wit, Invention, and Elegance predominate; and yet each Verſe is as eaſy, clear, and expreſſive as Proſe.

I have read *Juvenal* ſo often, that I can nearly repeat each Satyr by Heart. His Satyrs pleaſe me more than thoſe of *Horace*. *Horace*, indeed, excells *Juvenal* in Spirit; but *Juvenal* excells *Horace* in Strength. *Horace* tickles and delights his Reader; but *Juvenal* is earneſt, nervous, ſharp, and ſtinging. *Horace* judges from external Appearances; but *Juvenal* goes deeper, diſcovers ſecret and hidden Vice, drags it forth, and rouzes Reflection in his Reader. *Juvenal* is rich and fruitful in his Doctrine and Deſcriptions; *Horace* only aims at certain Failings; and frequently touches upon a ſingle Conſideration over and over again. *Juvenal* explains his Point fundamentally, and never runs from it; which we cannot ſay of *Horace*. In his firſt Satyr, *Horace* jeſts with the Fickleneſs of Mankind; and in the ſame Breath endeavours to render Covetouſneſs ridiculous. In his third Satyr he cenſures thoſe who diſcover to others the ſlight Failings of Friends, and do not obſerve any in themſelves; immediately after which, he comes to the Stoical Maxim, "that "all Crimes are equal;" and his Conduct is the ſame in the reſt of his Satyrs. It muſt however

Juvenal and Horace.

be

be acknowledged that there are, in his Works, Paſſages which ſhew a ripe and maſterly Judgment. Yet he is extremely diſſimilar to himſelf; ſo that in reſpect both of his Matter and Style, he appears as variable as his Butt *Tigellius*. And as his Verſification is extremely forced, he ſeems to me no Poet by Nature; but made ſo by Art, Labour, and Study. Moreover, he holds the Principles of *Epicurus*; denies a Providence; and praiſes Virtues only for their Uſes in Life. *Juvenal's* Morals are much better; he ſpeaks ſenſibly and venerably of GOD, and of good Actions; and has many noble Sentiments not unworthy of a Chriſtian.

Cicero and Pliny.

My Taſte, I acknowledge, is odd; but I ſpeak from my own Feeling, and have found ſome as odd as myſelf, in preferring *Pliny's* Epiſtles to *Cicero's*. I know it is Hereſy, thus to prefer a young *Latin* Writer to an Ancient. But even the Writings of *Seneca* appear to me better laboured than the Philoſophical Works of *Cicero*. Indeed, *Cicero* has a flowing Style; which, I ſuppoſe, is the principal Cauſe of his Reputation as a Writer. But ſome take that for a Beauty, which to others is diſagreeable. Some have no Reliſh for Writings compoſed with Labour, Thought, Judgment, and Reflection; but admire what ſlides eaſily over their Minds, and leaves nothing but faint placid Images and imperfect Traces behind; with a happy Remembrance of being pleaſed, amuſed, and lulled by their Reading. I dare not call ſuch Readers *Ciceronians*; for the Golden Age of Writers has many Defenders.

ders. But Men frequently follow the Judgment of others, without conſidering for themſelves; and are led, guided, and directed, as ſo many Children, what they are to like or diſlike, praiſe or condemn. It is ſaid, we do not diſcover ſuch Beauties, Eloquence, and Ornaments in later Writers as in thoſe of Antiquity; and particularly thoſe of the Golden Age. And thus, as *Cicero* cenſures *Demetrius Phaleræus* in reſpect of *Greek*, ſo *Quintilian* cenſures *Seneca*, and, covertly, *Pliny* in reſpect of *Latin*, for ſpoiling the Beauty of the Language; as if when a Writer ſharpens or alters his Style, or varies his Phraſe, he muſt needs corrupt a whole Language, or alter its Force. If *Pliny* and *Seneca* had lived in the Golden Age, and *Cicero* in the Silver Age, 'tis Odds but Men would have judged differently of theſe Authors.

I have frequently read the *Iliad*, without finding in it what others have found; yet cannot join with thoſe modern Rebels againſt *Homer*, who allow him no Place in the Liſt of good Writers. I admire *Homer* for his Spirit and noble Simplicity of Style; and I value his Works as the genuine Fountain of the *Greek* Language. But for the Treaſures of Learning ſaid to be lodged in him, and the immenſe Advantages of his Works to Orators, Stateſmen, Generals, Arts and Sciences, my Eyes are not good enough to ſee them; tho' I think thoſe happy who can. His Examples are not always to be followed. It could not be good Conduct for the General of an Army, to leave the Field in the midſt of a Battle, as *Homer* Homer and Plutarch.

mer makes *Hector* do. Some propoſe the Speeches of *Neſtor* as a Pattern to Orators: I know not what Effect they may have upon others; I am ſure they have often made me ſweat. But I diſpute no Man's Taſte; and all Squabbles about the Matter are frivolous. In Point of Inſtruction, I hold *Plutarch* ſuperior to *Homer*; becauſe *Plutarch* appears to me the principal Writer, wherein the Wiſdom of the Ancients is preſerved.

III.

A Sketch of Human Life.

Infancy. THE Life of Man ſeems ſhort in reſpect of Comforts; but long in reſpect of Miſeries. A Child comes crying into the World, as if apprehenſive of the Miſery he is born to. Indeed, we cannot figure to ourſelves a more indigent Creature than a new-born Infant; the Day of whoſe Birth muſt infallibly prove the Day of its Death, without the Help of others: for unleſs properly aſſiſted, with Care and Skill, to ſupport his tender Frame; he would juſt make his Appearance, like an Actor in an Opera, ſing his Dirge, and quit the Stage. With all the Care taken to preſerve the Life of a Child, Death threatens him every Hour; becauſe his Body, on account of its Delicacy, ſeems, like a Bubble, capable of breaking by the leaſt rude Accident. He muſt, therefore, be watched Day and Night; be

be covered up in Blankets and Wrappers, and delivered over to the Nurſe to be fed, and lulled, and ſung to Sleep. This is the State of a Child, in his tender Years; and makes the firſt Act of the Tragedy, as *Shakeſpear* deſcribes it.

Soon after the Infant is weaned, and the Nurſe diſmiſſed, the little Creature is put into the Hands of a Tutor, or Schoolmaſter; who endeavours to harden his tender Skin, with the Rod and the Ferula. And now the young Brain muſt be ploughed and harrowed, to prepare it for receiving the Rudiments of Grammar; which, if the Head be not capable of retaining, the Hands and Back muſt ſmart for it. This Diſcipline may indeed be tolerated, provided it is only exerciſed to the Child's Advantage: for, as Valetudinarians take diſagreeable Medicines to improve their Conſtitutions; untoward Youngſters may ſubmit to Correction, when they know that every Laſh, and every Knock is a Token of Love: tho' many a Boy may ſay with the Poet; "*A force de m'aimer tu me rends miſerable.*" But Maſters uſually diſpenſe Correction according to the innate Acid of their own Tempers; and retaliate upon the Backs of others, thoſe Stripes they received when School-Boys themſelves. The Pupil, after having, for ſome Years, been thus diſciplined; inſtructed in Things neceſſary and unneceſſary, uſeful and uſeleſs, is at length ſet free: and now he expects to reap the Fruit of his Labour and Suffering! But, the Joy ariſing upon the Expiration of this Slavery, like Lightning, Childhood

ning, juſt flaſhes and vaniſhes. Immediately after School-Diſcipline, and Academical Drudgery, follow Anxiety of Mind, and the Cares of Life; ſo that the next ſucceeding State may poſſibly prove more diſtreſsful than the firſt.

Manhood. For now, ſeveral Years, and often the Prime of Life, muſt be ſpent in Attendance, and the ſeeking of Patrons or Preferment. And it happens unluckily in this Situation, that what a Man learnt at School proves of little Service to him; becauſe the Way to the Antichambers of the Great, differs from the Road to *Parnaſſus*. To ſucceed in Life, inſtead of *Latin* and *Greek*, a Man ſhould furniſh himſelf with Humility and Patience; and inſtead of courting the Muſes, ingratiate himſelf with Ladies of Quality, or their Women. All learned Ambition, and towering Thoughts, muſt now be abandoned; and no Condeſcenſion be ſpared. Single Addreſs is here more uſeful than all the liberal Sciences; and how to gain the great Man's Favour and Intereſt, is the Study of Studies. A Suitor muſt imitate the Worm; creep in at Levees; bend, and buckle, and ſuffer, and ſubmit.

When, at laſt, a Competency is ſervilely obtained, freſh Incumbrances ariſe: a Houſe muſt be furniſhed, an Equipage provided; and before the ſucceſsful Man is ſettled, his Taſte and Reliſh for this Kind of Life may poſſibly be gone. Then enſues a miſerable State of Things! Whilſt a Man is capable of enjoying Pleaſure, he wants the Means; and when he has got the Means, he wants

wants the Appetite; ſo that the preſent Plenty becomes as diſagreeable as the preceding Want: for, to have nothing, and to like nothing, differ but little. And thus till a Man is paſt the Age for reliſhing Matrimony, he may not be able to provide for a Wife.

Old Age.

Plenty and a Diſuſe of it, or a general Diſlike of the World, often attend Old Age. And if Age, of itſelf, does not compleat the Misfortune, Infirmity and Weakneſs, Diſguſt and Diſſatisfaction, uſually cloſe the Scene. For, "Old-Age "is the Harbour of Calamities." This, in general, is the Courſe of Human Life; at leaſt, it has been the Tenour of mine, and of far the greater Part of my Acquaintance. Many, indeed, go different Ways to the ſame End; but few of all theſe Ways are without Briars and Thorns, Vexations and Torments. For, the Pilgrimage of Man is a State of Suffering, tho' the Sufferings differ in Kind. All the Roads of Life are rough, and narrow, and craggy, and broken; and the common Gulph, in which they all terminate, is Death. And, thus, as Life begins, ſo it uſually ends, with bewailing; as we ſee by daily Experience.

No Man to be envied.

If any Man judges this Deſcription too tragical, I felicitate him upon having paſſed his Life with leſs Trouble and fewer Misfortunes. For my own part, I judge the Sketch not aggravated. The happy Days I have ſeen in the World, may ſoon be numbered. If others can reckon up a Series of happy Years, it would be Joy to me; for as we are all Fellow-Sufferers, we ought by

no Means, to envy one another our ſhort-lived Enjoyments. The Practice of thoſe Bigots ſhould never be followed, who deny themſelves no Gratifications, but allow none to their Neighbours.

The future Life.

From the Miſeries to which the preſent Life is ſubject, ariſes a moſt comfortable Demonſtration of a future State. If there was to be no Life after this, we might ſay, that "God had "made Man in his Anger," and render'd him the moſt miſerable of all the Creatures. For, tho' Brutes are ſubject to Miſery and Death, yet they are free from Care and Anxiety; ſo that even the Underſtanding, allotted to Man, would then diſtinguiſh him, in Miſery, from Brutes; who are not encumbered about any thing more than the preſent, whilſt Men are attentive to paſt, to preſent, and to future Evils. But the glorious and juſt Expectation of the Life to come is capable of ſweetening all the Bitterneſs in this; provided we ſo mould our Thoughts, as to look upon earthly Miſeries as no Miſeries at all, in Compariſon of the future Joys we are to expect. And, certainly, the greater Sufferings we innocently undergo in this World, the more pleaſing Idea we may actually have of the promiſed Felicities, in the Life eternal. To diminiſh the Miſeries of this Life, and prepare the Mind for a better, is the Aim of the Author; who wiſhes he had Abilities adequate to ſo glorious a Work.

Of

IV.

Of the Sciences.

THE Sciences may be divided into three Claſſes; the neceſſary, the uſeful, and the hurtful. Of the neceſſary Kind are thoſe that teach us our Duty to GOD and Man; thus comprehending Divinity and Morality. That theſe two are neceſſary, all Men agree; and differ only as to the Manner of teaching and uſing them. We generally begin with inſtructing Children in Divinity, and ſtamp the Myſteries of Revelation upon their tender Minds, before they have learnt Morality. This Procedure appears as abſurd, as if a Boy, in order to learn *Latin*, ſhould begin with *Livy* before the Accidence. Children muſt firſt be made intelligent, before they can properly be made Chriſtians. The Foundation ſhould be prepared, before the Building is erected; and the Paper be ſtiffened, before it is wrote upon.

The Sciences divided into neceſſary, uſeful, and hurtful.

Divinity and Morality.

The Method of inſtructing Youth, ſhould have two Views; the firſt to form them Men, and the ſecond to form them Chriſtians. For, by being early inſtructed in certain Articles of Faith, we are apt inflexibly to defend our Party; and can ſcarce bear the leaſt Argument againſt it. This Plye, once taken, is not eaſily rectified. And hence our Minds require to be weeded from wrong Notions, and perverted Rules of

Education to have two Views

judging, before we can produce any Fruits of Morality. But, after a Man is once formed and moulded, it is uſually too late to alter him; for, if wrong Opinions fix and take Root in the Mind, they grow into knotty and diſtorted Branches. Men ſhould learn to doubt, before they learn to believe; as we taſte our Meat before we ſwallow it. To do otherwiſe is going backwards with Inſtruction; and eſtabliſhing Religion upon no other Foundation than the Authoriry of the Teacher, or the Doctrine of his Sect. To go regularly to Work, we muſt begin with Morality; and furniſh the Mind with Manners, to fit it for the proper receiving of Divine Knowledge. This might poſſibly ſubdue the Spirit of Bitterneſs reigning mong Chriſtians; and render our different Religious Sects more charitable to each other.

The Jeſuitical Education.

I here ſpeak not of thoſe, who, having a ſelf-intereſted Religion to propagate, purpoſely begin with teaching Religion before Morality. Their View is not to teach the Truth; but only ſuch Opinions as conduce to their own Ends. Thus, the Roman Catholicks, particularly the Jeſuits, who are Teachers for Self-Advantage, imprint the Infallibility of the Church upon the Minds of their young Hearers; as well knowing, that when once this Doctrine has taken Root, the Truth can afterwards find no Place in the Heart.

The Mahometan Education.

And thus the *Mahometans* carefully avoid the Teaching of Philoſophy; becauſe no Man can admit of their Religion, who is previouſly furniſhed with the Rules which Philoſophers uſe in diſcover-

discovering Truth. I address myself to no such selfish Teachers, but singly to those, who, with a better Intention, allow Men to try, before they believe; and to examine before they subscribe. And, I beg leave to observe, that these well-intentioned Persons generally cross their own good Design, by their Manner of educating Youth; and obliging them to learn Catechisms, and Articles of Faith, without due Preparation.

Morality to be taught before Religion.

Skilful Physicians proceed in a regular Manner; and begin with preparing the Body, that the proper Remedies may afterwards take place, and produce the better Effect. If Teachers followed this Example, Divinity would produce much nobler Fruits. But the common Way of beginning, is with *Believe*! before it is well known what should, and what should not be believed. This is proceeding like a Judge, who begins with Condemning, and ends with Examination. I submit it, whether a Regulation should not be made in Schools, for the first and second Classes to be instructed in Morality; and Religion be reserved to the third; so that the primary Business might be to prepare the Mind, and guard it against Prejudices, in order to the better planting and propagating Divinity afterwards. For we find, by Experience, that if any one studies Points of Faith before Morality, he rarely learns Morality afterwards.

Morality neglected among Jews and Christians.

Moral Philosophy has been extremely neglected, both among *Jews* and *Christians*; the Consequence whereof is, that small Things are carefully kept up and observed, whilst weighty

Matters lie unregarded. All the moral Commandments have been ſhamefully broke, about Trifles. Men have perſecuted and murdered their Neighbours, merely for diſagreeing in ſpeculative Opinions, or Ceremonies; they have been extremely zealous in external Godlineſs; and at the ſame time indulged themſelves in all Sorts of Wickedneſs. The Freebooters, who were a Gang of Pyrates and Robbers, trained up among the Northern Chriſtians, could never have been reckoned virtuous Heroes, if the People had underſtood Morality. Many Vices continue at preſent in Vogue, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they are not properly noted, pointed out, and cenſured as Vices, among the People.

The common Method of Teaching to be reverſed.

The common Method of inſtructing Youth might therefore be reverſed, and a firm Foundation laid in Morality, and ſound Philoſophy, by way of Preparation to the Teaching of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith. *Clodove*, King of *France*, after his Converſion to Chriſtianity, hearing the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Paſſion read, was ſo warmed with it, that he cried out, "If "I had lived in thoſe Times, my Troops ſhould "have ſabred the *Jews*, and releaſed *Jeſus*." Which he would hardly have ſaid, if his Converters had properly inſtructed him, before they baptized him.

The Procedure of Miſſionaries.

Our preſent Miſſionaries proceed like our Schoolmaſters, and uſually begin with the Myſteries of Religion; which immediately ſhock

their

their ſuperſtitious Hearers; ſo that they liſten no longer. The Preaching of the *Spaniſh* Biſhop, to the King of *Peru*, made the King take him to be mad; ſo that all friendly Intercourſe immediately broke off: which, probably, would not have happened, if the Biſhop had begun to convert the King, in the Order here recommended. In Hiſtory we find numerous Examples of others, thus diſguſted with our Miſſionaries, or ſoon falling off, after being initiated; and particularly among the newly converted *Indian* Youths. We ſhould therefore ſeaſon the Veſſel with Morality, before we fill it with Religion. We muſt firſt imprint ſound Senſe and moral Truths upon the Minds of Men. We muſt ſhew Youth the Conformity of Revelation with Reaſon, before we command their Aſſent; and inſtruct them in real Logic, genuine Criticiſm, and the Art of Judging, to prevent their taking Falſhood for Truth. By ſuch Means, an Inſtructor may acquire the proper Confidence and Eſteem of his Converts; who will then look upon him as an undeſigning, upright Man, when they perceive he really means to poſſeſs them of Truth, and make them happy, without bringing any worldly Advantage to himſelf. And thus the Learner will ſoon co-operate in his own Converſion; and come prepared, readily to receive, and ſtrongly to retain the ſpiritual Doctrine delivered.

The regular Teaching.

To proceed regularly in this weighty Affair, we ſhould firſt ſhew, in general, what an intelligent Man ought to receive, and reject; or what agrees with the Light of Nature, and what

diſagrees therewith; then proceed to thoſe Doctrines of Revelation, which all Chriſtians allow to be conſiſtent with the Principles of Natural Religion. If this Method were obſerved, we might reaſonably hope, that Chriſtians being thus properly made, would remain ſteady; and no Points of Doctrine be received as Articles of Faith, but ſuch as are juſt and perfect. Whereas, we now ſee, among all Sorts of People, whilſt theſe Rules are neglected, Youth trained up in the moſt monſtrous and inhumane Opinions, ſcarce ever to be rooted out of their Minds.

Illuſtrated. To illuſtrate this Matter; let us ſuppoſe a Maſter undertaking to inſtruct a Learner in Chriſtianity; and, to prepare the Way, firſt explains the Religion of Nature; gives his Diſciple a general Idea of Virtue and Vice; ſhews him what Truth, Equity, Juſtice, and Benevolence are; viz. that theſe are Excellencies among GOD's Creatures, and, conſequently, true Attributes of GOD. When this Foundation is laid; ſuppoſe the Inſtructor proceeds to the Doctrines of Revelation; and ſhews from the Articles of Faith, which his own Party ſubſcribes, that GOD, out of his Sovereign Will, created moſt Men to be damned. Here the new Diſciple is alarmed, ſtands upon his Guard, and will not admit a Doctrine ſo repugnant to the clear Preliminaries ſettled in his Mind.

Let a Popiſh-Miſſionary begin to execute his Commiſſion with the teaching of Philoſophy and Morality; declare, that as a Man ought to believe nothing repugnant to his Senſes, that is,

nothing

nothing contrary to what he and all others ſee, hear, and feel; and that thoſe are perverſe, who endeavour to do otherwiſe; then proceed to deliver the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; where, what to the Senſes is Bread, he ſays is Fleſh: here the Pupil muſt needs be ſhocked at an Article, which flatly contradicts the fundamental Truths that were taught him, and may juſtly ſay; "If I muſt not believe my own Senſes and "Perceptions; if I muſt deny ſeeing what I ſee, "and hearing what I and others hear; this is "baniſhing Truth, or Reality, and giving up all "Pretenſions to Certainty; ſo that I may well "doubt about the Scriptures and Miracles." Thus, if, by Means of preparatory Inſtructions, a Perſon is once taught to uſe his Reaſon, he will be ready to receive the Doctrines that are true, and to reject thoſe that are falſe. And ſo much for the the neceſſary Sciences; Morality and Divinity.

Under the Claſs of neceſſary Sciences, might likewiſe be reckoned Hiſtory; tho' moſt Philoſophers rank it amongſt the uſeful Studies; and commonly place it next after Geometry: becauſe few look upon Hiſtory in its proper Light; or conſider, that Morality is to be learnt from hiſtorical Examples; and that the Origin, Progreſs, Changes and Succeſs of Religion, are ſhewn in Hiſtory. Hiſtory.

Among the uſeful Sciences, come Geometry and Natural Philoſophy; of which I do not deſign to ſpeak, becauſe their great Advantages are generally known. I ſhall only mention one Error, The uſeful Sciences. Geometry and Natural Philoſophy.

ror of the ancient Philoſophers, in having a different Notion of the Dignity of the Mathematical Sciences; from what we entertain at preſent: for, they imagined it unworthy of a Philoſopher, to meddle with any thing more than the Theory of theſe Sciences; and looked upon the Practice, or Mechanical Part, as vulgar Drudgery: whence, Mathematicks, with them, conſiſted only in Speculation; whereas, at preſent, we go properly to work in theſe Sciences, by reducing them to Practice, and applying them to Mechanical Purpoſes, in a great Variety of uſeful Works: whence the Mathematical Philoſophers, of our Time, deſerve the greateſt Commendation and Encouragement, as Benefactors to Mankind.

Eclectic Philoſophy.

The ancient Philoſophers, like our modern Divines, were divided into Parties; each Sect endeavouring to defend the Doctrines of its Founder; inſtead of diſcovering Truth. This Kind of Party-Philoſophy continued till about the Time of our Saviour; when certain Perſons, of whom *Potamon* was the firſt, reſolved to pay no farther Allegiance to any Party; but ſelected the beſt Things they could out of every Sect: whence this was called the *Eclectic-Philoſophy*. I know not whether it may be prudent to wiſh for an *Eclectic-Divinity*; whilſt Chriſtians, like the old Philoſophers, do not ſo much endeavour to diſcover Truth, as to defend Opinions. But tho' I dare not make this Wiſh; yet I frankly declare, that if any Man ſhould attempt an *Eclectic-Divinity*, he ſhall not have me for his Adverſary.

Eclectic Divinity.

As

As the Solidity and Uſe of Natural Philoſophy and Mathematicks conſiſt in Practice and Experience; we ſhould not quarrel with thoſe who rank ſkilful Farmers and Huſbandmen among the Profeſſors of Natural Philoſophy; which, ſingly, conſiſts in the Knowledge and Uſe of natural Things. For my part, I always think him a learned Man, who fundamentally underſtands any uſeful Science; whether he learnt it from Writers in *Greek*, *Latin*, or his own Mother Tongue; or whether he acquired it by Reading, Study, or Experience. And if the Doctrine of Agriculture was made a Science, and taught as ſuch in the Univerſities; I believe, the Muſes would not reſent it. Univerſities are founded to cultivate and promote thoſe Sciences which tend to ſupport the Church, the State, and Civil Society: in which Light we might, perhaps, with as great Propriety, confer a Maſter's or Doctor's Degree upon a learned Farmer, as upon a learned Critic; unleſs any one will ſay, it is of greater Conſequence to rectify Words and Phraſes, than to improve Land; or more uſeful to weed an old Poet from the Errors of a Copiſt, than to clear a Common, and render it fruitful. The *Georgics* are no contemptible Part of *Virgil's* Works: and *Roman* Writers have left us ſeveral Specimens of their Skill in Farming. Agriculture.

I am in doubt, whether Rhetorick ſhould be reckoned among the uſeful Sciences. The *Greeks* and *Romans* held it in great Eſteem: but weighty Objections lie againſt it. A certain Philoſopher compares it to a painted Woman; where the Rhetorick.

Paint

Paint impoſes upon the Sight, and the Woman upon the Underſtanding. *Socrates* call'd it the Art of Deceiving. And ſome well regulated States, as *Crete*, and *Lacedemon* deſpiſed it. But in *Greece*, and other tumultuary popular Governments, Rhetorick was reckoned the capital Science. I will not attempt to decide the Queſtion.

The hurtful Sciences.

The hurtful Sciences are numerous. Moſt of our learned Diſſertations are either wrote upon Subjects which no Man underſtands, or which it is of no Conſequence to underſtands. We have daily Diſputes about God's Eſſence, and the Nature of Spirits &c. which are, plainly, Subjects hidden from Men. Many other Diſcourſe we have upon the dark unneceſſary Things of Antiquity; as the Country of *Homer*, the real Mother of *Æneas*, the Father of *Romulus*, and as the Poet expreſſes it,

Quot Aceſtes vixerit Annos;
Quot Siculi Phrygibus Vini donaverint Urnas.

The critical Sciences of this Kind, are not only unprofitable, but pernicious; on account of the Time ſo wretchedly miſemployed. People who ſtudy in this Way, are like Children turning over the Leaves of a Book to look for Pictures.

Indeed, all the Sciences become pernicious, when they run to Exceſs. Experience ſhews, that a Man may ſtudy himſelf ſimple. Yet, exceſſive Study has had a great Reputation in the World. *Archimedes* is celebrated for being ſo buried in Contemplation, that he remained the only Perſon in *Syracuſe*, who did not know the City was taken,

taken. *Carneades* is famed for being ſo ſtudious that he forgot to eat. But, with all the Veneration due to the Ancients, this Kind of Fame is not well grounded. Perſons thus praiſed, reſemble the Gentleman laſhed by *Petronius*, under the Character of *Eumolpus*; who continued repeating Verſes in the Cabin, whilſt the Ship was toſſed in a Storm and ready to ſink. An overlearned Man may be compared to a Glutton, or a Drunkard; for as Men, may eat and drink to a Debauch, ſo they may ſtudy to Exceſs. In either Caſe the Perſon becomes unfit for Buſineſs; and the Effect is the ſame, whether produced by too much Wine, or too much Study. Such immoderately learned Men are like the Orator in *Petronius*, who aſked an unknown old Woman in the Street, if ſhe could tell him where he lived. Of ſuch a Perſon we may juſtly ſay, what *Feſtus* unjuſtly ſaid of St. *Paul*; "thy "much Learning doth make thee mad."

The curious Sciences, and too great Learning.

But what ſhall we ſay of him, who ſearches into the Nature of Inſects, Shells, &c. without ſtudying himſelf; who has the Hiſtory of the World in his Head, but remains ignorant of what is daily tranſacted in his own Family; who knows "what private Dialogues paſs "betwixt *Jupiter* and *Juno*, but not a Syllable "of the Familiarities of his own Wife?" Men ſhould conſider Study, not as an End, but a Means to fit them for Buſineſs; as we ſhould not live to eat, but eat to live. Exceſs in Study proves more detrimental than uſeful. "The "ſweeteſt Life is, not to be over learned". Of this

this Exceſs in Study we have ſuch daily Examples, that it is got into a common Proverb, "He is too learn'd to preach;" or, in other Words, "He can do nothing well, be-"cauſe he knows nothing well." For, as Plants that are over-water'd cannot thrive; and the Lamp burns ill that has too much Oil; ſo the Mind will be hurt by too much Study. A Man's Houſe may be ſo fill'd with Furniture, that he ſhall want Room to ſtir; and a Man's Head may be ſo ſtuffed with other People's Thoughts, that his own ſhall be ſtifled. Places abounding with Schools and Colleges, are not proportionably wiſe or virtuous. *Rome* was never wiſer or more virtuous, than when moderately learned, and meddled with none but the uſeful Sciences. *Athens* was never more fooliſh than when it ſwarmed with Philoſophers. Moderate Learning ond uſeful Labour make a wiſe and virtuous People: for, moderate Learning ſtrengthens the Underſtanding, and uſeful Labour ſuppreſſes Vice. Too much Eating does not make a Man healthy; and too much Reading does not make him wiſe. Reflection is required to digeſt Reading; and Uſe is the Soul of Study.

V.

Of the Ignorant and Skilful.

TUMID and pompous Promiſes commonly proceed from Impoſture, or Ignorance. The Promiſes ariſing from Impoſture are criminal; and thoſe from Ignorance ridiculous. An Impoſtor promiſes what he has no Deſign to perform; and a Fool more than he can accompliſh. The Impoſtor deſigns to impoſe upon others; the Fool impoſes upon himſelf. An Impoſtor gives out he will effect an Impoſſibility; and the Fool fancies he can do what he has not Abilities for: whence the promiſing Cheat deſerves to be puniſhed; and the promiſing Fool to be laughed at. We ſee daily Examples of People, who by magnificent Propoſals, and high Pretenſions, endeavour to raiſe themſelves a Name, or procure Rewards, for Things which they either do not deſign, or are unable, to effectuate. But I ſhall here ſpeak only of ſuch Promiſes as flow from Ignorance. The Promiſes of Impoſtors and Fools.

The leſs knowing a Man is in any Thing, the more practicable he takes that Thing to be; whilſt the moſt intelligent are uſually timorous and dubious. The ignorant Man knows not his own Weakneſs; but fancies himſelf ſtrong enough to perform any thing: whereas, the intelligent Man knows his own Strength and Weakneſs; and is therefore often inclined to doubt, ſuſpend, and ſuſpect. The Fool, who ſees only the outſide Ignorants in general.

ſide of Things, takes them all to be eaſy; but the wiſe Man, who ſtoops and inſpects narrowly into their Receſſes, there meets with Knots and Difficulties. If a Child be bid to lift a thouſand Pound Weight, he will preſently attempt it; as not knowing the Load, nor his own Weakneſs. "O that I was but Lord-Mayor for a Year," cries many a Tradeſman, "the City ſhould ſoon "be new moulded!" Unexperienced People run crowding after Employments, the Burthen of which they never know till it falls upon their Shoulders. If *Phaeton* had known himſelf, he would never have ventured to guide the Chariot of the Sun. And if Political Tradeſman, and ſorry Scriblers, knew their own Folly, they would not preſcribe to Miniſters. Yet we frequently ſee the moſt unexperienced People promoted to Places and Offices, by their own forward Ignorance and Importunity; whilſt the beſt qualified often keep back, and require to be importuned before they will accept of an Office. If a Difficulty be found in Divinity, an ignorant Schoolmaſter will laugh at the learned Divine, who labours to explain it; becauſe ſuperficial Scholars take Doubts and Scruples for Folly and Stupidity. And, hence, the doughty half-read Scholar readily decides in all Diſputes.

Quacks. When an experienced honeſt Phyſician is conſulted in an incurable Diſeaſe, he frankly acknowledges the Impoſſibility he finds in the Cure; whilſt an ignorant, diſhoneſt Quack boldly undertakes the Caſe, and promiſes a ſpeedy Recovery.

Recovery. It is all one to the Quack, whatever be the Nature of the Diſeaſe, or how deeply ſeated; a Couple of Doſes, he tells you, will ſoon eradicate the Cauſe; and, if you doubt him, he will pawn his Reputation for the Performance. But the Event too frequently ſhews him a Deceiver: I only ſay, too frequently; becauſe confident Promiſes, joined to a certain Look of Aſſurance in the Quack, may cure ſome Patients; particularly ſuch as have ſtrong Faith, or working Expectations from his high Pretenſions.

Philoſophers and Ignorants.

A true Philoſopher readily acknowledges the many and great Myſteries which he diſcovers in Nature; whilſt a Smatterer meets with no Difficulties, but finds all Knots equally eaſy. He has a ready Paſſage through every Labyrinth, and a Key for every Cypher. Therefore, in all the great *Deſiderata*, pray let us have recourſe to theſe expeditious Gentlemen; and not depend upon our learned Societies, where the dull Members ſpend their Lives in making imperfect Diſcoveries. In moſt of the grand Articles, theſe ſlow-paced Societies afford us but little Comfort; and return *Ignoramus* upon many an Enquiry: whilſt a Blackſmith will eaſily ſhew you the Philoſopher's Stone; every Apothecary help us to a *Panacæa*; every Watchmaker to the perpetual Motion; and every Pilot to the Longitude. What whole Colleges of ingenious, laborious Gentlemen have long, in vain, been ſeeking, a Sailor can diſcover whilſt he is ſmoaking his Pipe; or a Barber whilſt he is taking off your Beard. Nay, a Barber, can ſettle the Affairs of *Europe*;

make Treaties; give Orders to Miniſters and Generals, &c. and all this in the twinkling of his Razor.

Hannibal, coming to *Epheſus*, was preſent at a Diſcourſe there held by the great Peripatetic Philoſopher, *Phormio*, upon the Subject of War, and the Duty of a General. The Audience were extremely delighted with this Diſcourſe; and aſked *Hannibal*, if he did not think it excellent. *Hannibal*, who found nothing in it but bold Stupidity, pronounced the Orator mad; alledging there could not be a greater Proof of Madneſs, than to harangue upon War, without having ſeen the Face of an Enemy, a Camp, or an Army.

The Way to make Fools wife.

But theſe meddling People know every thing, before they know any Thing; as ſoon as they begin to learn, they begin to grow ignorant; and the farther they advance in Science, the greater they find their former Stupidity. For, tho' they at firſt ſee only the Surface of a Thing, and know not its internal Nature, they immediately dubb themſelves Maſters of Art, in their own Conceits; pertly perch above others; and look down upon thoſe as Dunces, who in poring, for Years, have not been able to diſcover, what appears plainly to theſe *Connoiſſeurs* at firſt Sight. But when ſuch Ignorants approach a little nearer to the Subject, and obſerve the Difficulties and ſecret Turnings in their Way; they begin to loſe their dictatorial Capacity, and commence Learners: till by degrees their Omniſcience dwindles, in proportion as real Knowledge takes place, It is a pretty

Thought of *Montagne's*; that "it happens with "ignorant and ſkilful Men as it does with ſtanding "Corn; where the Ears ſhoot away bolt upright, "whilſt they are young and empty; but bend, "and humbly hang their Heads, when ripe and "full." *Socrates* was aſked what he underſtood; he anſwered, "he underſtood nothing"; which gives me a high Opinion of him; as it ſhews he was not contented with the external Appearance of Things. On the contrary, when any Philoſopher gives himſelf out for an univerſal Scholar, I am apt to infer he knows little; and the Aſſurance, with which he boaſts of his *Polymathy*, is as certain a Sign of an Ignorant, as the Attempt of a Child to jump over his Shadow, is a Sign of a Child.

This infallible Sign ſhould be recommended to the Obſervance of all People, but particularly Perſons in high Station; that they may not miſtake Pretenſions for Abilities, and Talking for Knowledge; nor ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled with ſplendid Promiſes; but conſtantly remember, that a magnificent Promiſer, *ipſo facto*, gives them a Proof of his Ignorance. This ſalutary Rule has been too little regarded; and therefore we often ſee great Promiſers, Fools, and Praters, riſe to Dignities and Offices, whilſt able and intelligent Men are laid aſide; and grow out of Tune, like Muſical Inſtruments neglected. Advice to the Great.

I beg my Reader would not miſunderſtand me; I have no Deſign to ſpeak againſt Fools; who are a Set of People I would by no Means provoke, on account of their Power and Number. The Utility of Fools.

They are extremely neceſſary in a State; and remarkable Advantages ariſe from their ready Addreſs, and ſummary Concluſions. For theſe, and many other Reaſons, I deſire to be at Peace with Fools. My Meaning is but to aſſign the Cauſe, why ſome Men arrive ſo quick at the graſping of all Science; and to ſhew that ſuch Pretenſions are infallible Tokens of Ignorance. Theſe People are, indeed, happy, whilſt they believe the World was made for them; and whilſt their Self-Confidence raiſes them to Honours, and makes them conſidered as Perſons of Weight. Moraliſts are apt to inveigh againſt many Things which Mankind cannot ſubſiſt without: for my part, I ſhould not chuſe to live in a Country without a Fool in it. A Fool has as good an Effect in a State, as the Ferment has in the Stomach. A Fool is a State-Cordial, which exhilirates the Blood and Spirits of the Subjects. He alſo reſembles a briſk Gale; which, tho' it ſometimes tears away Trees and Buildings, yet bruſhes and cleanſes the Air, and prevents Stagnation.

VI.

Why Learning has not farther advanced Morality.

The Turn and Temper of the Learned.

IT is difficult to cure bodily Diſeaſes; but ſome mental ones ſeem almoſt incurable. A ſick Perſon has uſually Confidence in his Phyſician;

ſician; credits what is told him; and uſes what is preſcribed: but an immoral Man ſeldom believes that his Mind is ſick; ſlights his Doctor; and applies not the proper Remedies. Among the ſeveral Ranks of Men, none are more intractable than the Learned; who frequently preach up Virtue to others, and cenſure Vice in all but themſelves: ſo little do we live according to our own Rules!

Whether Learning conduces to Morality.

From the Infirmities found among the Learned, one might haſtily infer, that Learning is not adapted to the improving of Manners, and making of good Men: but the Truth is, we rather ſtudy to be thought learned, than to be really good. At the Univerſity we learn abſtract Definitions of Virtues and Vices; with the Art of haranguing upon them; and are apt to imagine that this is ſufficient: whence our Univerſity Learning begins, and dwells, and ends in Theory and Speculation; ſo that he who has finiſhed his Academical Studies, proves but like the Whet-Stone, blunt in himſelf, however he ſharpens others. Such Students may be looked upon as rough Riders, who underſtand the breaking of a Horſe; but know nothing of bridling themſelves. We come out of Schools and Colleges, loaded with Learning for the Service of others; but keep none for our own Uſe. Every *Seneca* declaims againſt Riches; yet gets all the Money he can. Every *Cicero* preaches up Courage and Greatneſs of Soul; but whimpers at Misfortunes. Every *Horace* jokes upon Fickleneſs; whilſt himſelf is as changeable as the Moon. In

learned Societies we find noble Precepts of Morality; but if we look here for Examples, we had better look any where elſe. Great Scholars are no leſs remarkable for their Manners, than their Teaching; and like Bells, give Sounds which themſelves are deaf to.

The ſmall Fruit of Study, whence.

Studies uſually produce ſo little Fruit, that the Learned are ſcarce diſtinguiſhable from the Unlearned, by any Signs of the Social Virtues. Nay, greater Animoſities happen among Scholars, than among the Illiterate; for which ſeveral Reaſons may be aſſigned.

Pride of the Learned.

1. Many Scholars are proud of their Learning; and haughtily eſteem themſelves the Quinteſſence of Man. This Weakneſs was ſo prevalent in the barbarous Ages, that Pedants aſſumed the Titles of Seraphick, Subtile, and Celeſtial Doctors. Some took for their Title of Dignity, *Utriuſque Linguæ peritus*, "Maſter of both the "Languages"; being ſo proud of *Latin* and *Greek*, as to deſpiſe the higheſt Lay-Titles, in compariſon of learned Accompliſhments. In our Times, indeed, the Creſt of theſe *Greek* and *Latin* Heroes is fallen; yet enough of the old Leaven remains, to make many waſpiſh Gentlemen aſſume ſuch a venerable Air, that it is dangerous to touch them, or even to lay an humble Truth at their Feet.

The Popiſh Clergy ſtill look upon themſelves as Teachers commiſſioned to ſhew all others the right Way; without deigning to receive the leaſt Information: whence proceeds their particular Tenderneſs, or Aptneſs to take Alarm, more than

than the reſt of Mankind. All other Men who declaim againſt Vice, expect Repriſals; but a *Jeſuit* requires his patient Hearers to be ſilent and humble.

The Cuſtom of preaching, unanſwered, and having the Talk to themſelves, may lead ſome of the Clergy into Inconveniences, or bring upon them ſuch Weakneſs as may render them unable to bear Contradiction; incline them to think all Oppoſition uncivil; and that they alone are entitled to the Liberty of cenſuring, without being cenſured. Yet it may be permitted to remind them, that they conſiſt of Fleſh and Blood; and that their Title of ſpiritual Paſtors, does not exclude them from being Men. Indeed I do not comprehend the greater part of the Reformed Clergy under this Character: for, I have found very juſt and upright Clergymen, and find them daily, who know themſelves, as well as other People.

I ſhall always ſpeak with Reverence of the Clergy; and can take no Pleaſure in reading ſuch Writings as endeavour to blacken, or repreſent them in odious Colours: which I hold not only indecent but unjuſt. If a Divine be a good Man, I honour him; and if his Life contradict his Doctrine, I ſtill honour his Profeſſion; and follow the Example of a certain good Lady, in her Compliment to the Rector of her Pariſh: "Doctor, I thank you for your "excellent Sermon; pray God give you Grace "to live up to it."

2. Learned Men are ſupported in their Weakneſs by the Conduct and Behaviour of their Pupils. Adoration of their Pupils.

pils. For, Learners have a vain Ambition in crying up the Abilities of their Maſter; whom they would not extol ſo much, did they but practiſe what they learn, and ſhew the Fruits of their Scholarſhip in Wiſdom and Modeſty. But when this is not the Caſe, Learning becomes a Blemiſh, inſtead of an Ornament. Nor would Teachers exult ſo much upon hearing their own Praiſe; if they ſaw how little Benefit the World receives by their learned Labour.

Their Education. 3. As Youth at Univerſities ſpend the greateſt Part of their Time in the Theory of the Sciences, we cannot wonder if they are more awkward in the World than practical Men. The Ignorant are like raw Materials, or the crude Ores of Metals; but learned Men like manufactured Stuffs, or Metals that have undergone ſome Purification, but are ill-caſt and disfigured in the Mould: ſo that to make Men of the Ignorant requires only a ſingle Operation; whereas it muſt be a double one to transform the Learned: for the old Plaits muſt be taken out, before ſmooth Foldings can be given; and the Coin muſt be melted down before it can admit of a new Impreſſion.

Their Senſibility. 4. Another Weakneſs of the Learned is their Senſibility, or quick Apprehenſion; whereby they not only ſee what they find in a Book; but even what others cannot find. Such double-ſighted Scholars are like drunken Men; who inſtead of one Candle ſee two upon the Table: for thus the Learned are apt to ſee all Objects double; and find double-Meanings and Myſte-

ries

ries in all that is wrote or ſpoke. And ſince, upon account of this particular Penetration, they ſee what others cannot ſee; it is no Wonder that many Things alarm them, which others are not affected by: whence Scholars are commonly ſore, touchy, and more offended at a Joke than the Unlearned.

Their Conſtitutions.

5. Laſtly, As the Learned lead ſedentary Lives, grow pale, weak, and hypochondriacal by their continued Lucubrations, or frequently acquire an infirm Habit of Body, relaxed Solids, or ſharp and eager Juices, they become like brittle Ware, that can bear no Knock, and ſcarce endure to be touched. A certain Writer declares, "he would rather attack a Regiment "of Horſe, than a ſplenetic Scholar." *Con toto Mondo Guerra, ma Pace con Inghilterra!* "War with the whole World, but "Peace with the Learned;" eſpecially the learned Devotees, and ſuch as are eaſily enraged, but never appeaſed. It is rare that any Moraliſt comes off ſafe, who once engages with Bigots. Let the Cauſe brought into this Court be ever ſo juſt, it is well if you meet with Juſtice. A Moraliſt unhappily engaged with a Bigot, ſhould drop his Weapons quick, and ſurrender at Diſcretion. It would be a great Acquiſition in Morality, if the Learned ſhewed, by Example, that they really believed their own virtuous Precepts.

Of

VII.

Of the falſe Colours of Learning.

The Art of ſhining in Converſation.

THE ancient Stoics pretend, that a wiſe Man is a rich Man: but, allowing the Poſition, it may be queſtioned who, and where, and what this wiſe Man is; for, we ſee Wiſdom and Poverty frequently unite in the ſame Perſon. Nay, the World is ſo plentifully provided with wiſe Beggars; that one might compoſe the Fifth Monarchy of them. To judge from Experience, the Maxim ſhould be inverted; and a rich Man be termed a wiſe one: for, a Man of a plentiful Eſtate, and a generous Temper, is almoſt every thing; he is wiſe, learned, eloquent, elegant, &c. *Et Genius & Formam Regina Pecunia donat.* "He who nobly regales his Gueſts, is the "moſt learned Man of the Company." For, during the Treat, he has the Lead in the Converſation; whilſt his tame Hearers quietly permit him to begin and end all Debates. They allow him the Liberty to chooſe his Subject, as beſt ſuits his Skill and Capacity. His Knowledge, therefore, procures him the Reſpect of the obſequious Company. He ſports his Sentiments; diſcuſſes without Controul; and decides in every Diſpute. The Gueſts, who look upon themſelves bound to Obedience, riſe or fall like Barometers, juſt as they feel the Preſſure of their Patron. They preſume not to oppoſe the

the Maſter; and hold it uncivil to offer a Subject without his Call. If any one properly ſpeak to a Point, the Maſter's Nod can always ſtop the Career; for, at his leaſt Word, the Eyes and Ears of the Company are immediately ſhot at him; who now, unexpectedly, begins a new Topic; and draws all their Attention. He is the firſt Wheel of the Converſation, and turns the reſt of the Company. He talks the moſt, becauſe he has full Liberty of talking. He ſpeaks the moſt learnedly, becauſe he chooſes the Subject. He diſcourſes with Strength, and decides with Felicity; becauſe his Company muſt permit him to wind up the Bottom, and have the laſt Word. A Stranger happening to be preſent, is eaſily deceived, and innocently judges the Maſter has a good Underſtanding, and ſound Learning. For, how could a Stranger know, that the preſent Situation and Circumſtances, are the Cauſe of ſo much Knowledge and Eloquence; which would vaniſh, turn to Silence, or change into Ignorance, in a different Poſture of Things? Thus, many a Man is only learned at his own Table.

The Preſident of a Council uſually commands two or three Voices; tho' perhaps he judges no better than the reſt of the Board: but his ſitting at the upper End, adds Strength to his Diſcourſe, and a threefold Weight to his Arguments. Let us talk with this Preſident in another Place, and we may find it was not his Underſtanding, but his Seat, that rendered his Eloquence ſo powerful. And in Buſineſs.

ful. This is well known to the Vulgar; who, therefore, when they bring a Cauſe into Court, and are to chooſe their Council, or Arbitrators; do not trouble themſelves to find out the greateſt Lawyers, or worthieſt Perſons, but thoſe that are rich or well deſcended; and, conſequently, have the greater Power. The People find, by Experience, what Weight this adds to an Opinion; and that his potent Honour is always wiſe. For, they have it to a Proverb, "When "Money and Power begin to ſpeak, the Poor "muſt hold their Tongue." The Rich and Powerful contending with Inferiors, are like armed Men fighting againſt the Defenceleſs; or Generals poſted upon an Eminence, from whence they can annoy the Enemy, whoſe Cannon is in no Situation to reach theirs.

Petty Practices of the half-Learned.

Some half-learned People excellently know how to take their Advantage; and get to the weak Side of the Enemy: for, theſe People never enter into Debates, unleſs they find a right Opportunity; nor talk upon learned Subjects, or State Affairs, but before ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Places, as do not ſubject them to Queſtion and Anſwer. And by this Artifice have many, with ſlender Abilities, procured themſelves Reputation. All half-learned Men, indeed, are not ſo ſucceſsful; becauſe many of them do not underſtand the Art of procuring Fame, at a ſmall Expence. But as the chief Advantages, at preſent, to be reaped by Learning, conſiſt in the Name; might it not be adviſable, inſtead of plaguing Youth with

with Literature, at Univerſities, to inſtruct them only in certain Rules, by the Practice of which they may eaſily appear knowing in the Eye of the World? To what Purpoſe does real Learning ſerve, when a Man is not obliged to it by his Profeſſion? Or where is the Harm of Ignorance, when the Character of great Learning is eaſily acquired, without Knowledge? The old Motto, *Malo eſſe quam videri*, is no longer in Faſhion. Young People ſhould be principally educated in ſuch Things as may, in Time, turn to Advantage. They may follow theſe Rules if thought proper. (1.) Learn Things ſuperficially; and endeavour to procure the Reputation of Learning, with a ſlender Stock of Science. (2.) Obſerve Time, Place, and Perſons; ſo as to engroſs the Diſcourſe, and be liable to no Queſtion or Reply. (3.) Talk upon learned Subjects with none but the lower People; or ſuch as ſtand in need of Patronage and Aſſiſtance. (4.) Get a Smattering of the faſhionable Diſcourſe, the News, Politics, Plays, &c. by frequenting Chocolate-Houſes, Aſſemblies, and the Theatre. (5.) When any great Occaſion preſents, as if a Comet ſhould appear, read a little upon Comets, and retail out your Reading in the polite Circles. By theſe eaſy Rules I have known many procure themſelves the Reputation of polite Gentlemen, great Politicians, and excellent Philoſophers.

Rules for acquiring a learned Character.

(6.) Let Teachers inſtil ſuch Principles into their Pupils, as may ſhorten the *Gradus ad Parnaſſum*: for the ſhorteſt Way to our End is the beſt.

beſt. If *Latin* and *Greek* are of any Advantage, get a few Phraſes by Heart; and vent them upon proper Occaſions. (7.) If you can introduce an old Author, or a Father of the Church, quote your Chapter and Verſe, and hit off the Name right: for I cannot approve of thoſe who cite Authors and Paſſages that never exiſted; tho' I have known this ſometimes done with Succeſs.

More Rules might be laid down, but I fear they would ſerve to little Purpoſe; becauſe Schoolmaſters and Teachers are ſo rivetted to their old Habits, and abſurd Ways of Teaching, as not to be brought to change them for better: tho' Experience ſhews, even in their own Perſons, that great Reading does very little Good; and that a Modicum, with Addreſs, has vaſt Advantages. Indeed, my Schoolmaſter admoniſhed me to read the News Papers diligently; by which excellent Rule, he ſeems to have entered into the preſent Scheme. I followed his Advice, and became ſuch a Proficient in Politics, as to be admired by my Fellow-Citizens; till I unfortunately altered my Courſe of Reading.

VIII.

Of Authors and Cenſors.

The Fate of Authors.

AN antient Writer ſays, "When *Jupiter* is "angry with a Man, he makes him a "Schoolmaſter:" we may ſay, "When *Jupiter* "hates

" hates a Man, he makes him an Author." The Hope that flatters a Writer, of living in Hiſtory, and receiving Honour after his Death, may, in ſome Meaſure, alleviate the Anxieties he feels in Writing. But the better he writes, the more Hatred and Envy he may happen to meet with. Authors make themſelves no bitter Enemies by ordinary Writings. Nor is Cenſure, or Clamour, always a Sign of a bad Book. Perhaps a good Writer may have the Pleaſure to hear his Works commended; whilſt a bad one has the Mortification of ſeeing his Labours moulder in the Shop. This, however, is no conſtant Rule: for, as moſt Readers have but a vulgar Taſte; ſo vulgar Books have ſometimes a great Currency. Many an excellent Author has wrote to little Purpoſe.

Upon the firſt Appearance of a new Book, ſome ſuſpicious Tempers imagine, that every Word has a latent Meaning. They try the Lock with falſe Keys, whilſt the Door ſtands open; and at length, they find no other Key was wanting, but one to open their own Underſtandings. As ſome Readers ſee Things that are not in Authors; others ſee nothing at all; and take the moſt laboured and uſeful Performances, for low Stuff and idle Common-Place. To open the Eyes of ſuch People ſeems impracticable. The Fable of the Mole ſuits them. " A young Mole " intreated his Mother to buy him a Pair of " Spectacles; becauſe he had obſerved that Men " wore them:" his Mother replied, " The Money would only be thrown away, Child: for " the

Unjuſt Cenſure.

" the Spectacles which Men uſe, are of no Ser-
" vice to Molewarps."

Jealous, weak, and ſuſpicious Readers, are a Kind of Cabbaliſts, who, by their own ſelf-applauding Explanations, can make a Word ſpeak what they pleaſe; or like thoſe ſubterraneous Gentry, *Klim*'s *Maccati*, whoſe Eyes were ſo ſharp, that they could ſee Freckles, but not the Face; the ſmalleſt Faults, but not the Subject; and were almoſt blind by dint of poring. It is bad writing in a Study that ſwarms with Flies; where the Author muſt ſit with his Pen in one Hand, and a Fly-Flap in the other. Snarliſh Readers are like unruly Servants diſturbing their Maſter. Their unjuſt, cenſorious Temper, impertinent Noiſe and Clamour, cauſe an Author to miſcarry; or oblige him to ſuppreſs and ſtifle ſuch Writings as might poſſibly benefit Mankind.

Juſt Cenſure. All human Performances are liable to Cenſure; but not in an equal Degree, even tho' the Performances ſhould be alike. If a Man performs an Action out of his own free Choice, or merely to ſhew his Underſtanding or Dexterity; ſuch an Action will be more ſeverely cenſured, than one performed out of Neceſſity, or by Compulſion. In the former Caſe, the Perſon ſeems to do what he likes; but in the latter he muſt do what he can. The firſt performs out of Pride; but the laſt out of Duty. To do a thing without being deſired, is like ſaying, " I can do it better than " another:" whereas the importuned Perſon may juſtly ſay; " You muſt take the Will for the " Deed."

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An incapable Perſon being deſired to dance or ſing, may civilly excuſe himſelf; but upon repeated Entreaty, he ſings or dances as well as he can. Another, tho' unqualified, importunes People to hear his Voice, or ſee him cut Capers. Both of them are in a bad Situation; yet the firſt meets with a milder Cenſure, becauſe he was compelled; the other with a ſeverer, becauſe he was unaſked. Nay, tho' the latter ſhould perform better, ſtill he is cenſured more ſharply than the other; becauſe, by his voluntary Offer, he ſeemed to promiſe a Kind of Excellence, or Perfection. The Refuſer may be looked upon as giving ſomewhat, when he had promiſed nothing; but the Importuner as performing leſs than he promiſed: ſo that altho' he gives more than the other, yet it ſeems leſs in itſelf; becauſe the Gift falls ſhort of the Promiſe.

A Counſellor who manages a Cauſe, and receives a Fee in proportion to the Buſineſs tranſacted, is not ſo praiſe-worthy, as another who takes no Money, but is contented with the bare Honour and Applauſe ariſing from his Eloquence and Conduct. The former ſhews no Generoſity, becauſe he is paid for what he does; whereas the latter diſplays a kind of Heroiſm, by giving his Labour *gratis*. But, notwithſtanding the Excellence of Generoſity above Self-Intereſt, the generous Lawyer will be more cenſured than the other, if both ſhould manage the Cauſe but ſlightly.

Maſterpieces of Skill and Workmanſhip are more accurately examined by Artiſts, than ordi- Author-ſhip.

nary Work; and Authors are juſtly criticiſed with more Rigour than other Labourers. If a Man publiſhes a Book unaſked, he forces the World to criticiſe him: if he performs well, no body is obliged to thank him; as no body ſet him to Work: and if he writes ill, he is looked upon as a conceited Scribler, who gives himſelf out to be what he is not; and publiſhes his own Weakneſs, which might otherwiſe have lain concealed. *Si tacuiſſet, Philoſophus manſiſſet.* "If he "had not publiſhed himſelf for a Fool; he might "have paſſed for a Philoſopher." And really, when any one, without being deſired, publiſhes a monſtrous Production of his Brain; the Author gives this Advertiſement. "Be it known "that I am a Fool; but, leſt every body ſhould "not think ſo, this my Book ſhall make the "World ſenſible of it; in ſuch Manner, that "neither the preſent Generation, nor the future, "ſhall have the leaſt Doubt of it."

Poets. And, as among all Workmen, thoſe Artiſts are the moſt liable to Cenſure, who produce Works of Ornament; ſo, among the various Kinds of Writers, Poets are the moſt expoſed to mercileſs Critics. For, tho' a Poet may perform well, he is ſeldom allowed due Praiſe. Poetry is a Kind of Self-blazoning; and Self-Praiſe commonly rouzes every body elſe againſt it. Whoever labours at Poetry, and publiſhes his Work, ſhews he holds his own Genius high. The Poet, indeed, frequently endeavours to obviate Objections, by acknowledging his Want of poetical Talents. But ſuch Excuſes are looked upon only

only as Forms of Civility. If the Author was convinced that he had no Genius for Poetry, he would be cautious of publiſhing; and therefore his Apologies as little ſoften the Critic, as a Man who gives another a Cuff, then aſks his Pardon. Apologies indeed have their Weight, when we are forced upon Things againſt our Inclination; but become abſurd, when we act voluntarily. For, let the Undertaking alone, and no Excuſe will be wanted. *Cato's* Reproof is juſt. *Næ tu, Aule, nimium Nugator es; quum maluiſti Culpam deprecari, quam Culpâ vacare.*

If Authors, and particularly Poets, would ſufficiently reflect upon this, they might be more reſerved in publiſhing. But, not knowing ourſelves, nor examining our Strength, we wantonly truſt our frail Veſſels to the Ocean. Nay, as they who have no good Voice, generally ſing the moſt; ſo thoſe Men are apteſt to write, who are leaſt qualified for it. Some Men, in the Fury of their Liquor, have the ſtrongeſt Deſire to appear before the very Perſons they ought leaſt to be ſeen by. But Willingneſs and Incapacity, Unwillingneſs and Ability, commonly go together.

Orators.

I ſcarce know an Example of a ſuperficial Orator, who does not make long Speeches: tho' ſuch frothy Speakers might ſave their own Time, and oblige their Audience, by Conciſeneſs. It ſeems as if they would compenſate for their Want of Senſe, by a Torrent of Words. I have ſometimes admoniſhed a Friend of this Failing; but always without Succeſs: which perſuades me,

that if he was to preach for the Popedom, he would not ſhorten a Period of his Sermon. *Horace's* Sentiment is juſt; that "middling Poets "are inſufferable." We may ſay the ſame of Orators, and Authors in general.

Mediocribus eſſe Poetis
Non Homines, non Dii, non conceſſere Columnæ.

A Letter to an incenſed Author.

I Have received your Manuſcript Defence, wherein you expreſs a juſt Reſentment againſt an unjuſt Cenſor; who has ſharpened his Quill, and dipt it in Gall, to diſcredit your laſt Performance. You beg me to read over your Defence; and to ſtrike out, or add, what I may judge proper. I find nothing, in particular, to ſtrike out; but I except to the Whole. I do not cenſure the Work, but am ſorry it was wrote; and beg of you not to print it yet; but wait a while, in order to learn the public Opinion of your Adverſary's Cenſure. Perhaps it may ſink of itſelf, or be rejected by the general Voice; and if that ſhall be the Caſe, all Defence is unneceſſary. We ſhould look upon hot Critics as peeviſh Brooks, that rage the more for ſtopping; and are never better managed, than by giving them vent, till they run themſelves dry. The moſt honourable Victories are gained without Bloodſhed. If your Defence be made public, your Adverſary will imagine his Cenſure was juſt, keen, and level to the

the Point; and judge you are wounded, becauſe you complain. But if you treat him with Silence and Diſdain, he may think he has miſſed his Mark; and thus your Silence will gall him more, than the moſt cutting Apology. No body, unaſked and unhurt, publicly calumniates the Work of another; unleſs he has itching Fingers, or loves a Diſpute. By not anſwering, therefore, and leaving the Public to judge, you deprive your Adverſary of a wiſhed-for Engagement; turn his Bullets into Paper-Pellets, and his Artillery into Pop-Guns. A good Book ſufficiently anſwers for itſelf: and Apologies raiſe Suſpicion. When Tradeſmen praiſe their Ware, I doubt of its Goodneſs. It is only in dubious and weak Cauſes, that Counſellors reply and rejoin: when the Caſe is clear, the Pleader abides by his Opening. Let the Public, who is here a third Perſon, and a proper Judge betwixt you and your Adverſary, determine which is in the Right. You may confute him as much as you pleaſe, ſtill you ſpeak but in your own Cauſe, where no Man is a proper Judge. Condeſcend not, therefore, to anſwer thy Opponent, but appeal to the Public; to whoſe Judgment thy Book is already ſubmitted. Hence will ariſe two Advantages. By not replying, and thus ſhewing a Confidence in the Goodneſs of thy Cauſe, and in thy Judge, thou giveſt others a good Opinion of it: and, ſecondly, you thus take rich Revenge of your Adverſary; who finds himſelf diſappointed

pointed, and his Criticiſm thought unworthy of an Anſwer. If this Silence paſſes for Fear with ſome unintelligent People; yet it will be accounted to thee for Moderation, and Merit, by Perſons of Underſtanding. Nay, thou wilt be looked upon like a prudent General, whom the Enemy cannot, by Provocation and Reproach, betray into the quitting of his Reſolution. A certain Commander once contumeliouſly treated the famous *Roman* General *C. Marius*, ſaying, "If thou art the great *Marius*, come out of "thy Camp:" to which *Marius* anſwered, "If "thou art a great Commander, oblige *Marius* "to change his Reſolution."

As Cenſure often proceeds from Jealouſy, Pride or Envy; a ſingle *Eraſmus*, a *Grotius*, or a *Scaliger*, has more Cenſors upon his Back, than all the Shoal of ordinary Writers. Every Seed ſown by the Hand of a good Author raiſes Crops of armed Men, and Hoſts of doughty Cenſors. But, the greater the Number is, the leſs they hurt. Remember the Traveller in *Liliput*; who, in his Sleep, was attacked by whole Dwarf-Regiments of *Liliputians*; all at once digging into him with Spears, Darts, and Javelins, yet never diſturbed his Reſt; and, upon waking, he imagined himſelf rather beſet with Swarms of Fleas, than attacked by Soldiers.

Strongly repreſent to yourſelf, that this outragious Critic is actuated by Pride and Envy. Remember, that envious Men are apt to blacken the faireſt Works; which they cannot imitate. Remember

member, that thoſe who ſpeak with Pride and Boaſting, do the leaſt Hurt. Rage and Revenge, Bitterneſs and Reviling, are Signs of a weak and groveling Mind.

Conſtantine the Great, being informed that ſomebody had abuſed his Statue, ſo as to disfigure the Face of it; the Emperor, inſtead of Revenge, ſhewed the Informers his natural Face, and bid them obſerve it was entire and unhurt. When the *Lacedæmonian Ephori* were told, that the *Clazomenian* Ambaſſadors had daubed their Seat of Juſtice; the *Ephori* proclaimed, that the *Clazomenians*, alone, ſhould enjoy the Privilege of being ill-bred. *Arceſilaus* was reviled by a Poet; but inſtead of anſwering, led him to a public Place, where great Numbers might be Spectators of his Rage. If thy Work be bad, no Apology can make it good. Apology for bad Writings is no better than paultry Varniſh; which, tho' it covers a Failing, does not mend it.

Experience ſhews, that rigid Cenſors are ſooner diſarmed by Silence than Reply. Think how thy Adverſary will be baulked, when he finds, unexpectedly, the War at an End; for the carrying on of which, he may have made great Preparations. This is putting him into the Situation of a Man, who has provided Timber, Lime, and Brick, for building a Houſe; and then finds he has no Right to the Ground.

It is Courage to face an Enemy; but more noble to deſpiſe him juſtly. *Socrates* was beaten in the open Street; but inſtead of ſtriking again,

he only wrote upon his bruiſed Forehead, "N, N, "*fecit*." A noble General was, in our time, reproached as a Coward; but inſtead of revenging the Affront, he appealed to the Company, if they thought he deſerved the Title: they all teſtified for his Courage; and the Inſolent flung away in more Rage and Deſpair than if he had been caned.

Many commence Hoſtilities againſt eminent Men, not out of Hatred, but Ambition; that they may have the Glory of Dwarfs, to fight againſt Giants. My Advice, therefore, is, if thou muſt needs anſwer thy Cenſurer, that it be done in theſe Words. "Whereas N. N. has "lately endeavoured to blacken my Work: I "beg the Reader will pleaſe to compare the "Work with the Criticiſm." Yours, &c.

IX.

Of Poetry and Rhime.

IT is ſaid of *Theophraſtus*, that he blamed Nature for having given ſo long a Life to Stags and Ravens, and ſo ſcanty a Pittance to Man. But the Cenſure is not juſt; becauſe it may clearly be ſhewn, by Induction, that the Life of Man is long enough, if it were well employed. Would Men but properly uſe their Abilities; Affairs might be ſo regulated, and the Ways to Knowledge ſo ſhortened, that our Lives would be long, in proportion to our neceſſary Buſineſs. But, Man ſpends his Time in Trifles; and then complains his Life is ſhort. One would think, that in many Caſes, we contrived to make Things difficult and tedious; purpoſely to lengthen the Road to Science, and ſhorten Life. Of this there are numberleſs Inſtances: I will mention one. Life not ſhort, if properly employed.

Several Kinds of Poetry are of little Uſe, in proportion to the Labour and Study they require. An Author often finds it extreamly difficult to expreſs his Thoughts with Perſpicuity, Elegance, and Strength: but inſtead of aſſiſting Authors, herein; certain Pedants, and Taſk-Maſters, have invented and preſcribed numerous arbitrary Laws and Rules, which multiply the Drudgery of poeti- Labour of Authors.

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cal Writers; or render it ten times harder than is any way neceſſary.

Difficult Kinds of Poetry.

So many different Kinds of Poems have been invented, that the Enumeration of them might ſwell a Catalogue; wherein would ſtand the Heroic, Elegiac, Sapphic, Iambic, Pindaric, &c. whilſt each Kind has its particular Rules, Variations, Structure, and Feet; ſo that all the Words muſt be meaſured, as it were by Scale and Compaſs, to fit the Places they are to ſtand in; and weighed, to find whether the natural or figurative Senſe has the greater Moment. This is Torture to the poor Poet; who has otherwiſe Trouble enough to hunt for ſublime and ingenious Thoughts, which the Nature of his Work may require.

Uſe of different Feet.

If we examine into the Uſe and Deſign of Dactyls, Spondees, Trochees, &c. or why Syllables muſt thus be tortured into various Feet, with ſo much Thought and Labour; we ſhall often find it ſerves only to tranſpoſe, and confound the natural eaſy Order of Words and Phraſes; and, by bringing them into an unnatural, or poetical State, to render what is plain and ſimple of itſelf, more embaraſſed and leſs intelligible. For, before we can underſtand Poetry, we muſt learn to marſhal and muſter the Words, and reduce them to their natural Order of Conſtruction. What a Poet ties into Knots and Wreathes, the Reader muſt untie and unravel; ſo that the Inventors of Poetry, in contradiction to common Writing, have found an Art of placing Words in a Labyrinth, to puzzle the Reader. Yet in this Art of

of embroiling Language, Youth, at Schools, are inſtructed with Care; and uſually receive more Praiſe for excelling therein, than for underſtanding Morality, Natural Philoſophy, or Civil Policy. Who could have imagined, if he had not ſeen it, that ſenſible Men ſhould torture their Genius in this miſerable childiſh Manner? I call it Torture, becauſe many have followed this Study ſo cloſely, as, by impairing their Health, to have led very uncomfortable Lives. Who could ever have expected that Promoters of the Sciences ſhould aſſign Rewards to theſe Confounders of Language? If my Library-Keeper ſhould tranſpoſe the Leaves of the Books in my Study, and ſet the laſt Part of a Work in the Middle, the firſt Part laſt, and expected a Reward for his Labour; I own, I ſhould give him a Crown of Straw, and his Diſmiſſion.

Ancient Poetry, how improved by the Moderns.

This Art is ancient enough, to prove the World has long been fooliſh. And later Ages have not only endeavoured to keep it in Repute, but even to adorn and improve theſe Fooleries, with new Inventions and Additions of their own. For, whereas the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* were contented with winding, turning, and forcing of Words, ſo as to make a certain Cadence; the later Poets have endeavoured, by way of Appendix, to fetter Verſes in Rhime; and this with ſuch a Rage, as to ſacrifice Senſe to the prepoſterous Invention.

Rhime.

There are various Opinions about the Antiquity of Rhime; but that appears to be the beſt founded,

founded, which derives it from the *Moors*, or *Arabs*, who uſed it before the Time of *Mahomet*. And, from the *Spaniſh* Moors, the Art of Rhiming has diffuſed itſelf over *Europe*; ſo that it is not only introduced in all the vulgar Languages; but even into the *Latin*. And herein no body has excelled *Leonius*; whence *Latin* Rhimes are called *Leonine*. It is ſcarce to be deſcribed, how fond the Men of that Time, and particularly the Monks, were of this Folly: all their Conceits were dreſſed in Rhime, whatever became of the Senſe.

Leonine Verſe.

The original *Leonine* Verſes reſemble the prating of a Parrot, more than rational Diſcourſe. And as Rhime, of which there are nine Kinds, was then eſteemed the moſt eſſential Thing in a Poem; theſe happy Verſe-Makers moſt aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to all the Kinds. Nay, Rhimes were afterwards ſo highly admired, that the Rich-rhiming Poets would bring two or three of them into a ſingle Verſe. Whence it might be inferred, that Abſurdity was, in a Manner, neceſſary to Rhime; which proved to be the Caſe in Fact: for theſe rich-rhimed Poems have ſo little Senſe with their Clack, that they might properly be uſed as Clappers to frighten Birds.

What a high Opinion the World has had of this miſerable Invention, appears by certain Phraſes, ſtill uſed in different Languages; implying the Strength and Solidity of a Diſcourſe by the Word *Rhime*; ſo that Rhiming and Reaſoning are uſually tacked together; as ſynonymous. "That

"rhimes

" rhimes well, that rhimes ill," &c. ſignifies in moſt modern Languages, " that is Senſe, that is " Nonſenſe," &c. Sometimes, indeed, common Language is leſs favourable to Rhime; as when we ſay, " There is neither Rhime nor Reaſon in " a Thing," where Rhime only walks ſide by ſide with Reaſon.

One might have expected that theſe, and the like Puerilities, ſhould have been aboliſhed by the modern Improvers of Science; but we ſtill continue to teach the old *Latin Proſodia*; and thus plague the raw Underſtandings of Children with unneceſſary Rules. Nay, Rhime ſtill continues its Reputation in the moſt general Languages of *Europe*.

Rhime to be dropped.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that there are ſeveral excellent Poems in Rhime; but the Queſtion is, whether they would not ſtill have been better, had the Authors paid no Regard to it? The *Italians* and the *Engliſh* are the firſt People of *Europe*, who attempted to ſhake off this Yoke of Bondage: and their poetical Performances are the beſt of *Europe*. But the *French*, to the Detriment of other Nations, have not yet quitted this Rattle. I ſay, the *French* retain this Play-Thing to the Detriment of other Countries; becauſe other Countries do not ſo much inquire after the *Bon Sens*, as after the Mode of *France*. And I dare aſſign this as a Reaſon, why Rhime is ſtill retained in the Northern Countries. For, ſo great is the Prevalency of *France*, that other Nations ſeem to glory in borrowing their Faſhions, their Taſte, their Wit, their Phraſe, and even their

their Morals, if not their Devotion, from thence.

We have Examples of the bad Effect of Rhime, in all the ſinging Pſalms of *Europe*; where we find numerous Words uſed improperly, and often abſurdly, for the ſake of Rhime: thus ſacrificing the Senſe of the divine Original to a childiſh Jingle.

The ſetting of Language to Proſodia.

Some indeed have attempted, in our Time, to lay aſide Rhime; and inſtead of it to ſet the *European* Language to the *Latin Proſodia*. But, as the modern Languages have no compleat Flexions, like the *Latin* and *Greek*; it happens that the *Latin Proſodia* cannot here be properly adapted. If it could ſucceed in any vulgar Tongue, it muſt be the *Iſelandiſh*; wherein the Nouns and Verbs are compleatly declined and conjugated.

Difference betwixt Poetry and other Writing.

I would not be ſuppoſed to depreciate Poetry; which is diſtinguiſhed from other Writing, by its Sublimity, Elegance and Brightneſs of Thought, and Expreſſion: but I judge, that whatever interferes with theſe Properties of Poetry, ought to be baniſhed. Certainly, nothing ſhould be retained to cramp or confine the Genius of the Poet; who requires full Liberty; and cannot brook Reſtraint, without loſing of his Force, his Energy, his Dignity, and Power of moving, raiſing, and tranſporting the Soul: which is an Effect not to be produced by the Rattle of Rhime.

Difference betwixt a Poet and a Verſifier.

A Poet and a Verſifier differ in this; that the Labours of the Poet, his Spirit, or Brightneſs of Thought, are not entirely loſt by unravelling his Conſtruction, bringing his Words to Order, and ſhewing them in a ſimple Style; whereas the Labour

Labour of the Verſifier vaniſhes together with his Cadence and his Rhime. An ugly Woman, when dreſſed and painted, may paſs upon ſuperficial Admirers for a Beauty: but take off her Cap, wipe away her Paint, uncurl her Locks, and the hideous Form returns.

X.

Of Poets.

The Humours and Titles of Poets.

POETS have honourable Titles. They are called Sons of *Apollo*, and Favourites of the *Muſes*. They are great in Power, and high in Character. Their Work is creative, and their Epithet divine. They go crowned; and enjoy all the good Things a Mortal can wiſh for, except the ſlight Circumſtances of Food and Rayment. A Poet, like a Spider, is conſtantly buſied in weaving his Web with ſubtile ſkilful Induſtry, all his Life long. To conſider him on the Side of his Genius, his Sublimity of Thought, his Art and curious Workmanſhip, he deſerves his Titles: but when we conſider the Wear of his Conſtitution, his haggard Countenance, his emaciated Body, and his ſhrivell'd Stomach, he appears an Object of Pity. In him we ſee great Honours, united with extreme Poverty. *Apollo* is ſaid to fill his Cup; and the Muſes to nouriſh and feed him: but, to judge by the Poet's Aſpect, the Liquor of *Apollo* is not ſo exquiſite, nor the Table

Table of theſe young Ladies ſo delicate, as to make one deſire to dine with them. But tho' the Poet's Stomach may ſerve to prove a *Vacuum*; yet his Head is compleatly fill'd with Meaſures and Metaphors, Sublimities and Conceits. And ſince ſuch mental Food is pleaſing to the Poet, we ſhould let him enjoy it, with all his Titles, in Perfection. And happy it is, if this can defend him from the Ridicule which Poverty is apt to meet with. *Lobo*, in his *Abyſſinian* Travels, relates that he ſaw the King of a Country rowing naked with other Boatmen; from whom he was only diſtinguiſhable by a Crown of Straw. This ſhews the Nature of Pride and Poverty exiſting in one Perſon; and is not a ſtranger Sight than a ſtarved Poet crowned with Laurel.

Their Rewards.

But all Poets are not equally poor; and ſome of them have been richly rewarded for their Labours. Yet, if we examine Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that the Number of ſuch lucky Bards is ſmall, eſpecially in later Times; and that Poets, with us, are generally as poor as their Father *Homer*, who lived upon Praiſe. *Juvenal* tells us, that *Statius* was obliged to ſell his Works for Bread. Very few have ever been ſo fortunate as *Hiurno*, who, as *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, was elected to the Throne, for writing the Epitaph of King *Frode*. This is an Inſtance of a Poem richly rewarded, conſidering it was no great Performance; and ſhews the ancient *Danes* were indeed Admirers, but ſlender Judges, of Poetry. If all the Preſents made to Poets, both ancient and modern, were amaſſed together, the Heap would

would ſcarce equal this ſingle Reward. Moſt of the ancient Bards were paid with a Dinner; and moſt of the Moderns are eſteemed as Beggars, from their external Appearance, and Manner of ſtrolling about from Patron to Patron. Indeed there is this Difference between them; that the Poet begs in Verſe, and the Beggar in Proſe.

Their divine Language.

It is ſaid that the Language of Poets is divine; but to judge from Effects, the Language of Lawyers is more efficacious. They both deal in the ſame Art; but not with equal Succeſs: for, tho' the Lies of a Lawyer be no greater, or bolder than thoſe of the Poet; yet they are more profitable, and muſt be paid for. The Difference is, that the Poet lyes in Jeſt, but the Lawyer in Earneſt; whence the Poet is rewarded in Jeſt, and the Lawyer in Earneſt. And this proves the Caſe with the Poet, even when his Performance is well received.

The Licentia poetica.

But, it frequently happens, to the Poet's Mortification, that if his divine Enthuſiaſm riſe too high; or his Muſe happen to ſlip her Bitt; ſhe runs him into ſuch Difficulties and Diſtreſſes, as occaſion him to write *de Triſtibus*, with his Brother *Ovid*. The *Licentia Poetica* is not always a good Plea. *Orpheus*, who ſo raviſhed all Things with the Magic of his Muſic and Poetry, as to move the very Trees, and make the Stones dance; at length made them dance ſo vigorouſly about his Ears, that they killed him. *Eumolpus*, once reciting his Verſes in the public Market-Place, and finding the Stones fly thick about him, rea-

dily acknowledged them the Fruits of his Poetry. *Novimus plauſum Ingenii noſtri.*

Their Supports.

By this Deſcription, no body, I hope, will ſuſpect I mean to reſtrain the Genius, or curb the Spirit of Poetry: I eſteem it a noble Study; and think that a true Poet deſerves all the Honours which Men can beſtow upon him. Indeed I account him happy, if Honour alone can ſatisfy him. If he can contentedly ſuffer Hunger and Thirſt, he feels no greater Wants.

Many People ſacrifice their Eſtates to obtain a Title, an inconſiderable Place, or Penſion, and thus live contented with Poverty and Precedency. How many run into the Embraces of Death for Fame, or in hopes of living in Hiſtory? "Man "lives not by Bread alone." Titles, Honours, and Fame make many People not only contented, but happy, and gay, and frolic, tho' poor. Some great Secret muſt, therefore, lie concealed in Pride, Ambition, and Self-conceit, capable, in a degree, of nouriſhing the Body, as well as feeding the Mind.

XI.

Of Satyr and Panegyric; Praiſe and Blame.

PRAISE and Blame produce as different Effects in the Mind, as Sweet and Bitter do in the Body. Praiſe is like Sugar and Honey, apt to ferment and putrefy. Blame is like Salt, or Vinegar, and prevents Corruption. All that is ſoft and pleaſant, inclines to ſpoiling; whilſt all that is pungent or tart, quickens and cleanſes. Flattery is a ſweet Poiſon; and Satyr a bitter Remedy. Flattery is pleaſant, but Sincerity is wholeſom. Nature of Satyr and Panegyric.

It is related of *Jaſon*, the *Theſſalian*, that a Perſon gave him a Cut with a Sword, which opened an Impoſthume, and ſaved his Life. Satyr has often the like Effect; and therefore every Man who is hit, and willing to correct himſelf, may look upon a Satyriſt as his angry Friend.

An Enemy is ſometimes more uſeful than a Friend. It is ſaid of *Hiero*, that one of his Enemies telling him he had a ſtrong Breath; he went Home, and aſked his Wife, why ſhe never informed him of it? The Lady anſwered, obligingly, that ſhe thought all Mens Breath was ſtrong: whence *Hiero* remarked, that he was more obliged to the Rudeneſs of his Enemy, than to the ſilent Civility of his Wife.

A Flatterer ſeems a Friend, but is an Enemy: A Cenſor appears an Enemy, but is a Friend. The Flatterer is obliging, and would lend a Sword to a Madman; the Cenſor appears uncivil, becauſe he would wreſt a Sword out of a bad Hand. Panegyriſts are like Ladies of Pleaſure, who entice Youth into Vice; and a Satyriſt is like a Schoolmaſter, who drives us to Virtue with the Rod.

There are both good and bad Men in the World. Flattery may turn the good into bad; and Satyr may turn the bad into good. If there were no Cenſors or Satyriſts in the World, Vice and Immorality would get the Aſcendant. *Thales* being aſked, which Beaſts were the moſt miſchievous; anſwered, "Of the wild "kind, Tyrants; and of the tame, Flatter-"ers."

Origin and Uſe of Panegyric.

Moſt Panegyrics are like blaſting Winds, and blight what they touch. But I would not baniſh panegyrical Writing; which is extremely uſeful, if not miſapplied, or its original Deſign perverted. *Pericles* is ſuppoſed to have firſt inſtituted Encomiums, and Funeral Orations, at *Athens*, to the Honour of thoſe Heroes who loſt their Lives in the Service of their Country. Hiſtory ſhews, that this Kind of Parentation proved uſeful; becauſe the Living were thereby encouraged to follow the Examples of ſuch departed Heroes. *Pliny's* Panegyric is exemplary; as *Trajan* deſerved the Praiſe he received. The ſame may be ſaid of ſeveral other panegyrical Performances;

formances; whereby Men are excited to Virtue and Valour.

But this uſeful Inſtitution has, in later Times, been ſo perverted, that it is grown faſhionable to praiſe People, indiſcriminately; ſo that, what was formerly beſtowed as a Reward to Virtue, now ſerves to encourage Vice: for, our common Panegyrics, Encomiums, Inſcriptions, Characters, and Funeral Orations, are vicious and infectious. Praiſe indifferently beſtowed upon the Good and Bad, both living and dead, can only ſhew, that the Orator is hired. Every living Weight is now painted in the Colours of Virtue; and every dead one as having diſcharged his Duty, and gone to receive his Crown of Glory. How perverted.

As all Panegyric is not to be rejected; ſo all Satyr is not to be approved: for, ſome Satyrs are miſchievous and criminal; but others uſeful and lawful. The lawful Satyrs are the general; that point at no particular Perſon. A Satyr that has human Nature for its Object, is innocent; that which aims at a Nation is more innocent than that which touches a Family; and that which touches a Family, more innocent than that which ſtrikes at a ſingle Perſon. Satyr diſtinguiſhed.

Unlawful Satyr may either aim at innocent, or guilty People. The firſt is the moſt puniſhable; becauſe Injury is done by it. The ſecond, tho' it may contain nothing but Truth, yet cannot be allowed in Society; becauſe a private Hand thus inflicts Puniſhment, which only belongs to the Government. All Satyr is unjuſt, that carries Unlawful Satyr.

Marks of Pride, Superiority, Malevolence, or Inſolence.

Unlawful Satyr acts in different Ways. Sometimes it goes directly to work, and falls upon Perſons without Ceremony, or Management. This Kind of Satyr may be taken as common Diſcourſe, and be puniſhed accordingly. Another Kind makes uſe of Turn and Detour, to avoid the Penalty of the Law; yet this ſometimes wounds deeper than the former. A blunt Satyriſt may laſh the Failings or Vices of particular Perſons, and meet with the Puniſhment he deſerves; whilſt another ſhall do the ſame Thing, indirectly, under feigned Names; but eſcape unſuſpected, and unpuniſhed. Yet the Effect is the ſame in both Caſes; and the Intention ſometimes worſe in the latter; tho' the Manner may ſkreen the Writer, even from Reproach. I knew a cenſorious Lady, who was little ſuſpected, becauſe ſhe never cenſured in her own Perſon; but when ſhe was pleaſed to have her Fling, or brand her Friend for a Coquette, would cry, "The "dear good Creature has many Enemies: they "ſay ſhe is falſe to her Huſband; I dare ſwear "they bely her. To be ſure the World is very "cenſorious, &c." This Weapon double dipt in Malice and Pity, ſtabs a Character civilly.

Cenſure in this ſoft Way finds the greater Credit; as it appears to come from a compaſſionate Friend. Many Authors ſucceſsfully uſe this Artifice in Satyr; and at once procure the Reputation of Diſcretion and Compaſſion. But, Satyriſts writing from a bad Heart, are like the *Lacedemonian*

monian Tyrant, *Nabis*; who had an Engine made in the Form of a Woman, and called it *Apega*. It was ſo contrived as to walk, and embrace People, with its Arms ſtuck full of Spikes. *Nabis* frequently ſent for the *Lacedemonian* Citizens, to extort Money from them: if they gave it readily, he diſmiſſed them quietly; but if they began to excuſe themſelves, he introduced his *Apega*, with theſe Words, "My Wife's Re-"thoric may penetrate deeper." Then *Apega* wounded the reluctant Citizens ſo, as to make them roar, and promiſe what they could not perform.

Satyrical Apology.

There is a Kind of Satyr, conſiſting in fooliſh Apology; whereby a Failing, that was only known to few, becomes a general Town-Talk. A Paſtor, upon hearing one of his Pariſhioners complain of two or three Neighbours, who had called him Cuckold, bid the good Man be comforted, and promiſed to take Care of him: accordingly, the Paſtor next Sunday proclaimed in the Church, "Whereas certain Perſons of "this Congregation ſay, N. N. is a Cuckold; "this is to let them know that the Report is "falſe; and in caſe it were true, yet ſuch Peo-"ple have nothing to do with it." This Apology could have no better Effect, than the Honour intended to Cardinal *Mailly*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*. The Cardinal, it ſeems, was generally hated, for perſecuting thoſe who rejected the *Conſtitution Unigenitus*. But, among his few Followers was the public Executioner; who, to

ſhew his Eſteem of the Prelate, hung the Image of his Eminency out of his Window: by which Demonſtration of Zeal, the Cardinal obtained the Sarcaſm, that "the Executioner had hanged him "in Effigy." Many Apologies, and Demonſtrations of Honour, have a ſimilar Effect. Indeed, they may ſometimes be deſigned in Simplicity; but we have Reaſon to believe, that the greateſt Part of them are rank Satyr.

Motives to Satyr.

As ſome write Satyr out of Malice, or Revenge, others do it out of Pride, or Oſtentation. They both deſerve Puniſhment; for tho' the Intention differs, the Effect produced is the ſame. A certain Poet, by Name *Madera*, having abuſed *Fontana*, a *Roman* Lady, by calling her Whore in a Satyr; and excuſing himſelf, as doing it for the Rhime's ſake, becauſe *Putana* rhimed to *Fontana:* Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth condemned him to the Gallies; alledging that *Madera* rhimed to *Galera*. *Æſop* repreſents Boys diverting themſelves with flinging Stones at Frogs in a Pond, and killing ſome: when one of the wounded, peeping out of the Water cried, "Children, what is Sport to you, is "Death to us."

The Emperor *Caligula* exerciſed many of his Cruelties merely for Paſtime. His Uncle *Claudius* had a Cuſtom of ſleeping at Table, and of ſcratching his Face when he waked. *Caligula* once ordered Iron Hooks to be faſtened at the Ends of his Uncle's Fingers, whilſt he lay aſleep in this Manner, and then waking him in a Hurry;

Hurry; *Claudius* ſo ſcratched his Face, as to make it run down with Blood.

It was the Way at *Roman* Auctions, for the Bidder to nod with his Head, when he bid for any Thing. *Caligula* being preſent at an Auction, and finding a Patrician aſleep, ordered the Auctioneer to knock the Goods to that Gentleman, at every Nod he made; ſo that upon waking, the Patrician found himſelf involved in an immenſe Debt. Thus ſome People ſatyrize others, only to ſhew ill-natured Wit; whilſt the Satyr may prove as hurtful to the Perſon, as if it was directed by an Enemy: for, a Wound is a Wound to the Receiver, come it from Friend or Foe. And hence perſonal Satyr is criminal, and unbecoming of any Man; but eſpecially a Philoſopher.

The juſt Satyr.

General Satyr, on the contrary, is not only lawful, but uſeful: for, aiming at Vices, more than Perſons; it corrects the Vice, without hurting the Perſon. But Satyr having been often miſapplied, the Word is become odious. The Great *Alexowitz* once cenſured a Gentleman for reading *Juvenal*; becauſe he had heard that *Juvenal* was a Satyriſt: but when the Matter was explained to the *Czar*, he ordered the Work to be tranſlated. If Men were totally to lay aſide Satyr and Cenſure; then Preaching muſt be given up. All Preachers againſt Vice, are Cenſors and Satyriſts. But every intelligent Man who hears his Vices cenſured, endeavours to correct them, without being enraged

enraged at the innocent Dart, which hits numerous others as well as himſelf. None but Fools are alarmed at general Cenſure. Fools, like *Don Quixote*, imagine all that ſtirs in the World, even the Windmill, deſigned to catch them. Such weak People look upon jocoſe Morality as unlawful.

Effects of Praiſe and Blame in Life.

Praiſe and Blame, in private Life, are nearly related to Panegyric and Satyr. Cold Praiſe is more pernicious than hot Blame. He who praiſes coolly, ſeems willing to praiſe, if he had Matter; and he who blames with Violence, is thought ready to commend, if he ſaw Reaſon for it. The former appears as an eaſy Friend; but the latter as a declared Enemy. If a Friend has nothing to produce in our Praiſe, he ſinks our Reputation; but if an Enemy grow inveterate againſt us, he chiefly hurts his own Character. The Lukewarmneſs of a Friend is more nauſeous, than the Satyr of an Enemy: for, it ſeems as if a ſubtile Poiſon lay under cool Praiſe; whilſt groſs and outragious Invective ſhews open Rage and Malevolence. The one hurts without Threatening; and the other threatens without Hurting.

Epitaphs.

The greateſt Part of Epitaphs, Inſcriptions, Characters, and Panegyrics, are real Satyrs. For, tho' the Writer may deſign them in the Way of Encomium; yet, as they ſeldom expreſs more than what is trite, trivial, or general; the plain *Engliſh* of them is this: "The Man whom I would fain "repreſent as a Hero in Virtue, has unfortu-"nately left me no Materials for the Purpoſe."

This

This Kind of Panegyric reſembles a Medal, with a Head on one Side, and a Blank for the Reverſe. The World abounds with Accounts of Lives, containing little more than the Birth, Baptiſm, Education, Marriage, and End of the Hero deſcribed: "Here lies *John Small*; that is all."

This ſhort Epitaph gives us a juſt Emblem of the ſatyrical Nature, or ſmall Importance, of the common Epitaphs and Inſcriptions. For, tho' they may be made with a good Deſign; yet that cannot direct the Effect they ſhall produce; nor hinder the Living from ſeeing with their own Eyes. The Characters generally written, whether in Verſe or Proſe, at Large, or in Miniature, prove no more than that the Deceaſed was a Man. And of what Service is this to the Survivors? Are we in Danger of forgetting the indifferent Actions which People perform every Day? It is certainly better not to ſpeak of a Perſon, than to relate ſuch Things of him as are not worth relating. Here Silence can do no Harm, and may paſs for Modeſty; whereas, ſpeaking and writing may leſſen or tarniſh the Reputation of the Deceaſed; and flat Praiſe be conſtrued into ſharp Satyr.

Characters.

It is related as an ancient Cuſtom in ſome Countries, that a Corpſe was never buried, till ſome body appeared and ſpoke in Praiſe of the Deceaſed. This Cuſtom prevented very few Funerals; becauſe let a Man have led ever ſo bad a Life, yet there would ſtill be ſome Ground of ſpeaking to his Praiſe. During this Term, however, there happened to die an Uſurer, who, by his Extortion, had made himſelf univer-

univerſally hated. His Corpſe lay long unburied; becauſe not one Inhabitant of the City had a Word to ſay in his Favour. But, at length there appeared a Barber; who teſtified, that "the Deceaſed had an eaſy Beard to ſhave." This Teſtimony was a more ſtinging Satyr, than the Silence of the City. If the ſame Law of Burial had place in our Time, we might eaſily account for the Praiſe ſo liberally beſtowed upon the Dead; and need not wonder at the dry, dull Epitaphs, and Characters we abound with.

Cool Praiſe.

We have a Proverb, "Half-Praiſe is Half-Blame." But, in many Caſes, Half-Praiſe is entire Blame, particularly in Panegyrical Poems; where the End, Purport, and Deſign, is to extol: for, if nothing Praiſe-worthy ſhould here be found, we may reſt aſſured the Poet had nothing to praiſe. And tho', in ſuch Poems, we meet with the Epithets Great, Virtuous, Pious, &c. yet theſe are Words ſo far from ſuiting the Perſon's Actions, as to render him more ridiculous. High Titles, pompous Expreſſion, ſublime Diction itſelf, and the fineſt Writing, can never blind the moral Eye, even in the beſt Heroic Poem.

Wrong Praiſe.

If we carefully analyſe the *Æneid*; lay aſide the beautiful Epiſodes; and examine the Hero as he ſtands repreſented; ſhall we not find the good *Æneas* rather ſatyrized than praiſed? He is ſhipwrecked upon the Coaſt of *Carthage*; and hoſpitably received by Queen *Dido*. He abuſes her, under the Pretext of Marriage; forſakes her, and throws the Blame upon his Mother *Venus*, who

who had laid out another Wife for him. From thence he goes to *Italy*; where he robs *Turnus* of his beloved and betrothed Bride, and kills the King. If *Æneas* could have ſeen this Poem, perhaps he might not have been pleaſed with his own Character in it. *Virgil's* primary View in this ſhining Work, ſeems rather to have been the raiſing of his own Name, than *Æneas's* Reputation: for, the Style is as great a Demonſtration of a ſublime Genius, as the Hiſtory is of a deſpicable Hero; however ſet off with the Epithet *pious:* which, ſuiting the Hero ſo little, looks like a Sarcaſm. Such a Witneſs for his Hero's Virtue may be ſtyled as Men pleaſe; yet fine Epithets will not convince any Man, that the Writer merits the Thanks of his Hero. No Recommendation at all is better than a cold one; no Witneſs better than one that hurts us. This, even, ſenſible Servants know; and therefore when diſmiſſed, chooſe to have no Character, if their Maſters will not give them a good one.

XII.

Of the different Stations of Life.

That Happineſs may depend upon Opinion.

HUMAN Happineſs and Miſery, may be greatly increaſed or diminiſhed by Imagination. Many will think this contrary to Common Senſe and Experience: but I deſire to be heard; for, tho' my Notions may

may not deſerve entire Approbation; yet I judge they may contribute to make Men eaſier in their reſpective Stations.

The Rich and Poor compared, as to Diet.

I preſume there is no great Difference betwixt thoſe we call Happy and Unhappy, Fortunate and Unfortunate, in this World. The Situation of the Rich differs not conſiderably from that of the Poor. The Poor have little to eat; and the Rich eat but little; the Poor thro' Want, and the Rich thro' Satiety: ſo that both frequently riſe half-empty from Table. The Poor have as great a Reliſh for their Pottage, as the Rich for their Dainties. All Meats taſte well to the Poor. "He eats the moſt, who is fartheſt from the "Kitchen; and he drinks the moſt who is far-"theſt from the Cellar." *Dionyſius*, King of *Corinth*, deſpiſed the *Spartan* Broth, for want of Appetite: but *Darius*, who once, in his Flight, drank foul Water, declared he never before taſted ſo delicious a Liquor.

The Poor are uſually healthful, ſtrong, and active; for, Poverty nouriſhes, tho' it does not fatten: but the Rich are generally tender, weak, and inactive. The Poor have little, and their Wants are few: the Rich enjoy but little in themſelves, and are always craving. The Poor are ſatisfied with Things eaſily procurable, and of ſmall Expence; but idle Gratifications have no Bounds. If the poor Man eats not immoderately, he enjoys the more Health; and if he drinks but little, he ſleeps the ſounder, and wakes the freſher. It ſeems difficult to determine whoſe Condition is the beſt, that of the Poor or that of

of the Rich; becauſe what Men call Good, muſt not be rated according to its Price, but according to the Uſe and Reliſh of it; where Caprice or Faſhion come not into Conſideration. The Thing that gives one Man Pleaſure, may give Pain to another: and what affects one Man moderately, ſhall ſtrongly affect another. The Matter muſt here be conſidered, not abſolutely, but relatively; not according to the Thing itſelf, but according to the Effects it produces. The poor Man keeps as good a Table for himſelf, as the Rich. Few Men, in Proportion, die for Hunger; but great Numbers from Superfluity and Exceſs: ſo that, in this reſpect, we may reckon the Poor more happy than the Rich.

Their Cares and Fears.

They are both of them encumbered: the Poor for their Suſtenance; the Rich in preſerving their Eſtates. The rich Man is under Apprehenſions of Robbers, Borrowers, and Cheats; acts as a Guard at home, and an Overlooker abroad; watching around, that no body comes too near him. The poor Man is leſs encumbered, leſs anxious, leſs upon his Guard, and may travel the World over without Danger of being plundered.

We uſually find the Rich thoughtful, timorous, and miſtruſtful: the Poor are commonly freer from Cares and Anxieties. If a Beggar appear ſorrowful, it is often a Colour put on to move Compaſſion. But allowing their Cares to be equal, yet the Anxieties of the Poor are ſhort, and immediately removed by a ſmall Gift; whereas, the Care of the Rich is more conſtant. This appears not only in particular Perſons; but even in

in whole Nations. What People are richer than the *Engliſh?* Yet where do we find Deſpair and Self-Murder ſo common as in *England?* The *Scythians* lived in perpetual Poverty; but had a great Regard to their Lives. The *Engliſh* generally live in a Courſe of Superfluity; yet often grow weary of themſelves. *Cicero* mentions an Epitaph, found in his Time, upon a certain Perſon called *Cleombrotus*, who having met with no Misfortune in Life, grew ſo tired of perpetual Felicity, that he drowned himſelf. There are many rich and honourable Perſons found among the *Spaniards*, who voluntarily reſign their domeſtic Felicity, aſſociate with Beggars, and go from Door to Door; in which ſort of Life theſe Gentry find a Kind of Pleaſure: and judge, according to the Saying, that "He is as happy as a "Lord, who can beg where he pleaſes."

Want and Superfluity may be attended with equal Inconveniences; as intenſe Cold and Heat have equally bad Effects. The Poor will ſometimes ſigh, upon ſeeing the Rich ride by in their Chariots: but ſplendid Equipage contributes little to Self-Content. It is not uncommon to ſee dejected Countenances in gilt Coaches; and merry Faces behind them.

Some rich Men, indeed, live in a conſtant Courſe of Pleaſure, without being weary of it: but how great a Temptation to Folly and Foppery, Diſſoluteneſs and Debauchery, is this State of Affluence?

Their Friends. It may be objected, that the Poor have no Friends, and therefore commonly fare ill in Conteſts

teſts with the Rich. But we muſt alſo conſider, that the numerous Friends of the Rich are ſeldom better than Table-Friends. And as to Law-Suits, it is indeed a common Saying, that "the Poor can have no Juſtice;" but this Saying ſeems to have ariſen from the Poor themſelves, who daily uſe the Plea with Succeſs. For, many compaſſionate Judges favour the Poor; and Experience ſhews, that a poor Woman's Tears and ſorrowful Countenance will ſometimes have a greater Effect at the Bar, than two ſubſtantial Witneſſes. For my part, I dread the having a Law-Suit with a poor Man, more than with a rich one; and look upon him as a dangerous Plaintiff. There are numerous Examples of Perſons who plead Poverty, not ſo much out of Neceſſity, as to render their Opponent odious; and by that Means obtain a more favourable Sentence. Pity has often more Influence over a Judge than it ought. In a certan Cauſe betwixt a Chriſtian and a wealthy Jew, the Jew was condemned to pay Coſts, firſt, becauſe he could better afford it; and ſecondly, becauſe his Anceſtors crucified our Saviour.

The Poor, it is true, have not many Friends; but are, in ſome meaſure, aſſured of the Sincerity of the few they have; whilſt the Rich and Powerful cannot ſo well depend upon the Sincerity of theirs, who do not all ſerve the Perſon, ſo much as the Place. The Emperor *Julian* hearing himſelf praiſed, replied, "If this "Praiſe came from thoſe who had full Liberty

" of praiſing, or blaming, it would pleaſe me." And hence, perhaps, the State of the Poor, in reſpect of Friends, is tolerable.

Difference betwixt Maſters and Servants.

To conſider the Difference betwixt Maſter and Servant; when I reflect upon the Hardſhips, Compulſion, and Labour, to which Servants are ſubject, it appears as if their Situation was wretched: but when I find them generally freſh, healthy, contented, and fuller of Joy than their Maſters, my Pity for them abates. Servants ſuffer more Hardſhips than their Maſters; but thoſe Hardſhips are the leſs, becauſe Servants bear them better: for, a Hardſhip is no Hardſhip, if a Man can ſubmit to it chearfully.

The Great make themſelves conſpicuous by their Riches, their Power, and their Freedom. But can they be properly called rich, who, the more they poſſeſs, the more they covet, and are themſelves Servants to their Superiors, Slaves to their own Paſſions, Follies, and Vices; and often to other People's? Can they be called free, whoſe Appetites, being at Variance with one another, admit of no ſolid Joy, or true Contentment? We ſometimes ſee Servants ſuffer under Reproach, and hard Duty; but we alſo ſee Maſters ſuffer from their Superiors; and upon one ſtern Look, a ſingle Frown, or angry Nod from a Prince, immediately ſicken, take to their Beds, and die. The Inquietudes of Servants are renewed by Starts or Intervals, and have their Rotation; but thoſe of Maſters are more conſtant, and ſometimes end not but with Death.

How many Cares and Anxieties are Maſters expoſed to, which Servants are free from? When

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we conſider the Happineſs of Princes, and view them with a philoſophical Eye, we find, that the Ruler of a Country is a kind of Watchman; who wakes, that his Subjects may ſleep the ſafer. And hence King *Antigonus* told his Son, that "Governing is an honourable Slavery." The ſame may be ſaid of every Maſter of a Family, who has the Care of his own Affairs at Heart. And hence the Difference betwixt Maſter and Servant conſiſts chiefly in the Name: and we ſometimes ſee, that, when their outward Conditions are exchanged, their internal remain unaltered.

Proſperity and Riſing in Life is only altering our Situation: and the obtaining of Riches is not ending our Miſery, but changing the Scene. A certain Gentleman, whoſe Servants complained to him of their long and hard Service, and deſired to be diſmiſſed; ſaid to them archly, "Do but imagine yourſelves Maſters, and you are ſo." This, as an Anſwer, was trifling; yet the Thought is philoſophical. An Actor, who every Night repreſents a King, differs but little from a real King; except that, with the Royal Robes, the former lays aſide the Cares of the Crown. The younger *Dionyſius*, when depoſed from the Throne of *Sicily*, might imagine himſelf ſtill a King, when a Schoolmaſter at *Corinth*. There is a great Difference betwixt a Conſul of *Aleppo*, *Smyrna*, &c. and a *Roman* Conſul; but if the modern Conſuls will fancy themſelves equal in Dignity with the *Roman*, they may be as happy.

A Set of pleaſant Gentlemen formed themſelves into a Society, repreſenting the Pope and his College of Cardinals. The Perſon who acted the Pope, had ſo trained himſelf, as to ſhew a conſtant Seriouſneſs in all his Geſtures and Diſcourſe; wherein he became ſo expert, that by mimicking another Nature, he ſeemed to have loſt his own. For, after this Society was broke up, having occaſion, upon a certain Affair at Law, to appear in Court, he ſpoke with ſo much Gravity and Sublimity, that the Aſſeſſors, who knew nothing of his Hiſtory, took him to be in Liquor. But when the Judge in Court informed his Brethren, that the Gentleman had lately been a Pope, their Diſpleaſure turned to Laughter. Hence we ſee the Difference betwixt a high and low Station may often conſiſt in Imagination.

What a Man has moſt to value himſelf upon, is Underſtanding, and the Gifts of the Mind. Theſe are our only real Poſſeſſions. Riches and Honours are Things external, which we do not intrinſically poſſeſs. But the Powers of the Underſtanding belong to Servants as well as Maſters. King *Henry* the Eighth permitted his Subjects to read the Bible, with an Exception only to Footmen; but the Order was repealed under *Edward* the Sixth; it being alledged, that many Servants might have more Underſtanding than their Maſters.

Difference betwixt the Healthy and Sickly.

I will venture a little farther, and enquire what Difference there is betwixt Sickneſs and Health. Every Man prizes Health, as an ineſtimable Treaſure: let us therefore proceed cautiouſly.

ouſly. In *Klim's* Subterraneous Voyage, a People is mentioned that were ſubject to no Diſeaſes; yet did not look upon themſelves as happy, becauſe their Health was conſtant; nor did they even obſerve they were healthy, becauſe they knew not what Sickneſs was; and therefore lived in an uninterrupted Courſe of Indifference. The Nature of Man is ſo framed, as to grow ſatiated with a good Thing, if it be permanent. Sick People, on the other hand, have Pleaſure in being relieved from their Sickneſs; and when their Fever intermits, they reckon the Intervals for happy Days; ſo that they receive a re-doubled Joy from their periodical Reliefs. If we compare the uniform Indifference of the Sound, with the interchangeable Sufferings and Joys of the Sick, we ſhall find them nearly equipollent: for, as the former reckon no bad Days, they reckon no good ones. We never eſteem fair Weather till we have experienced foul. And we may here apply what Aſtronomers ſay of the Sun, viz. that all the Inhabitants of the Earth have an equal Quantity of Sun-ſhine; becauſe the People at the Poles, tho' they have no Day in Winter; yet in Summer they have no Night; ſo that, taking in the whole Year, they have as much Sun-ſhine as warmer Climates. If we attend to thoſe few Perſons who enjoy conſtant Health, we ſhall find them neither joyful nor ſorrowful; but commonly indifferent and diſagreeable. It might be added, that the equable Temperament which cauſes their Health, checks their Fire and Activity; whilſt

the Spirit raiſed by a Hectic, may prove an Incentive to Virtue: but what Motive can there be to Activity and practical Virtue, where only Indifference and Inſenſibility reign?

The Bed-rid. When the Queſtion turns upon a Sick-bed, or thoſe who labour under continued Illneſs, I acknowledge the Point harder to manage; for it appears fooliſh to doubt of the great Infelicity to which theſe are ſubjected. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with adminiſtring ſome Comfort to thoſe, who are ſo unfortunate as to be troubled with bad Conſtitutions, or conſtant ill Health.

Experience ſhews, that all Misfortunes prove leaſt tolerable in their firſt Attack; and that when the Shock and Fury of a Diſeaſe is over, it becomes like a Waſp which has loſt its Sting. All Pain which remits and returns, proves ſharper than that which always continues: ſhort Pains, like ſhort Tyrannies, are the moſt violent. And hence, People conſtantly ſick, or in Pain, are better armed with Patience; becauſe their Illneſs loſes of its Violence by Continuance; and the Patient becomes diſciplined and hardened by long Suffering.

The Apprehenſion of Death, which uſually frightens Men in acute Illneſſes, is a Comfort and Support to infirm and decayed People; becauſe they look upon approaching Death as their Deliverer from Miſery, who is to knock off their Shackles, and open the Priſon. We all go willingly out of a Houſe that is falling. There is no body ſo fearful, but had rather once tumble, than remain always tottering. Nature herſelf

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here ſtretches out her Hand, and inſpires us with Courage. When Death comes ſpeedily, it allows little Time for Fear; if it comes ſlowly, we acquire a Diſregard and Diſtaſte of Life, as our Diſeaſe increaſes. To be willing to die, is harder for a Man in Health, than in Sickneſs. The Fear of Death diminiſhes, as the Pleaſures of Life decay. A beſieged Town, after having long withſtood the Beſiegers, is willing at laſt to ſurrender: ſo, a Man who has long been ſick, at length eaſily ſubmits to Death. And whoever is worn out by old Age or Sickneſs, is fitter for dying than living. An old, weak, and worn-out Soldier, begged *Cæſar's* Leave to diſpatch himſelf; *Cæſar* aſked him if he thought himſelf alive? *Num enim vivis?* It is related of an old Soldier, in the Army of *Antigonus*, that he excelled all the reſt in Valour and Bravery; but had very bad Health. The King therefore ordered he ſhould be taken particular Care of; ſo that by means of Medicines, he was perfectly reſtored: but from this Time it was remarked that he loſt his Bravery; which the King reproaching him with, the Man anſwered, that his Majeſty was to be blamed for it; becauſe it was upon the recovering of his Health that he acquired a Deſire to live, and a Fear to die. And hence we ſee, that Sickneſs itſelf is a Support againſt the Fear of Death: for "it is a Happineſs to die when it "becomes a Miſery to live." To this may be added, the ſpiritual Joys and Comforts afforded to Perſons viſited with long-continued Sickneſs.

I therefore conclude, that the Life both of Rich and Poor, Maſter and Servant, Sick and Sound, is only one Series of Miſery, interſperſed with ſhort Enjoyments. The Miſeries of Life prove greater or leſs in proportion as we lay them to Heart. Many Things appear inſupportable, only becauſe we are weak. A well diſpoſed Mind is the real Treaſure of Man. Bodily Goods are unſtable; and if they were more permanent, we ſhould either grow weary of them, or live in Apprehenſion of loſing them at laſt. All Fear only conſiſts in Dread of future Misfortunes. And as the various States and Conditions of Men differ more in Name than Reality; we have all of us Reaſon to remain contented with the Diſpenſation of Providence; eſpecially ſince this Life is only the rugged Road to a better.

XIII.

Of Man's Happineſs.

Good and bad Fortune what.

GOOD and Bad, Affluence and Want, Felicity and Misfortune, are great or little, juſt as we ſuit ourſelves to them. Some look upon little Accidents as great Afflictions; and a ſlender Advantage as high Proſperity. When a ſumptuous Dinner was once preſented to *Lyſander*, he ordered the *Hilotes*, or *Lacedemonian* Slaves, to eat it; and contented himſelf with his own ordinary Diet. *Ageſilaus*, receiving a Preſent of fine

fine Liquors and Proviſions, kept no Part for himſelf, but ſome Meal. He is the richeſt Man, who deſires no Superfluity, and wants for no Neceſſary.

It is in vain to commiſerate a Perſon who does not feel unhappy; and wrong to account any one happy who feels miſerable. That Man is rich, who thinks he abounds; and he is contented who ſlights Misfortunes. The diſcontented Rich are poor; and thoſe unhappy, whom ſmall Misfortunes ſubdue.

The Man addicted to Sorrow, is not joyful in Proſperity; and a rich Miſer may live worſe than a Beggar. Fortune, in itſelf, is neither good nor bad; but as we comport with it. And, in this Senſe, "Every Man makes his own Fortune." The Unhappy.

If Loſſes happen to a Friend, we condole with him: but if he is neither dejected nor made miſerable by them, can we condole with him in this Situation? We ſhould rather felicitate him upon his coming off victorious after an Engagement. Misfortunes touch not him who does not feel them.

On the other hand, we may go to felicitate a Friend upon ſome great good Luck, and find him unhappy: ſome ſmall Accident may have ruffled his Mind, and rendered him unattentive to his good Fortune. In this Caſe, our intended Congratulation may juſtly be turned to Condolance; for tho' his Diſaſters are ſlender, yet they are afflicting, if he lays them to Heart. It is not the Thing in itſelf that torments us, but the Thoughts and Feelings we have of it. If we The Happy,

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arm ourſelves, and make a Stand againſt Misfortunes, we ſuffer the leſs. He who valiantly meets his Enemy, often obtains an honourable Capitulation. It is always a Comfort and an Honour to meet Misfortunes bravely: for no Man can prove his Courage, but by Trial.

To ſhew that good or bad Fortune is juſt as it is felt; we need only reſume the Conſideration of Maſter and Servant: for, Maſters, in general, appear no happier than their Servants. We are not to look for Contentment in Palaces alone, but may as well find it in Huts. I one Day viſited two particular Perſons. The firſt was Maſter of an elegant Houſe and Garden. I aſked him, if he expected good Fruit that Year? He anſwered, he could ſay nothing of his Garden; becauſe he ſcarce ever went out of his Bedchamber. The ſecond was ſo confined in a little dark Room, that I thought him incommodiouſly lodged; but he found many Conveniences, which I could not ſee, in this cloſe Apartment. He told me how ſtill and quiet his Chamber was; that it enjoyed the Summer's Sun, and felt no Winter Blaſts. Among other Things, he ſhewed me his Pleaſure-Garden; which conſiſted of a few Flower-Pots, ranged on the outſide of his Window; then aſked me what I thought of his Habitation. I aſſured him, I was juſt come from a Gentleman of Fortune, who did not enjoy ſo many Conveniences. Indeed, a Gentleman may be poor in the midſt of Plenty: but to be diſcontented with Riches, is accumulated Poverty.

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We muſt not judge a Thing to be great or little, with regard to our own Opinions, but as it affects the Poſſeſſor. A Man may be more juſtly congratulated upon poſſeſſing what we think a Trifle, than upon enjoying what we eſteem a ſubſtantial Good; provided the Poſſeſſor be delighted with the former, and diſreliſhes the latter. If a Perſon purchaſe a Title, he may appear to us deſerving of Commiſeration; becauſe he parts with his Money, which we call a Good, to buy an empty Name, or Shadow of a Thing: yet, if the Perſon is really and internally rejoiced at his Purchaſe, it proves no Shadow to him, but a Subſtance: for, a Man's Mind is his Kingdom. The Purchaſer beſtows his Money well, who remains ſatisfied with his Bargain. Our own Happineſs no Rule for another's.

If a Misfortune befall us, and we think "it "well it was no worſe;" the Hurt cannot be great. An Emperor of *Japan*, being born under the Conſtellation of the Dog, conceived ſuch an Affection for the Canine Species, that he ordered, whenever a Dog died, the Owner of him ſhould carry the Carcaſs to a certain Burying-Ground, appointed for that Purpoſe. As a Gentleman was one Day ſweating under the Load of his dead Dog, and complaining of the Hardſhip of the Order; his Friend, to comfort him, ſaid, "We have Reaſon to thank God, that the Em-"peror was not born under the Horſe; for a "Horſe would have been a much heavier Bur-"then." Could any ancient *Greek* Philoſopher have moralized better upon the Occaſion? Conſolation.

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Man's Likings and Diſlikes.

There is nothing more ſtrange, and at the ſame time more common, than for one Man to judge of another, by his own Taſte. We hear, every Day, one Neighbour cenſuring another for his Manner of Life; tho' no body can determine which of the two leads the beſt, whilſt each of them follows his own Inclination. We ſay to a Proverb, "Every Man as he likes." And whoever lives according to his own Liking, always lives happily; tho' in his Neighbour's Eye he may appear to live miſerably. He who follows his own Inclination, is happy. When we cenſure another's Manner of Eating and Drinking, his Studies or his Labours, his ſolitary or ſociable Life, &c. it is no better than ſaying, "Regulate your Appetite according to mine; and "tho' your Taſte and Conſtitution may be dif-"ferent, yet live as I and others do." This is downright Tyranny; and making one Man the Tormentor of another: for, to deprive me of what I like, is robbing me of my Choice, and natural Liberty. He who would regulate other People's Taſte according to his own, behaves like a Child who ſays to his Bird, "Thou ſhalt "ſleep in my own Bed;" then puts the little Creature into his Boſom, goes to Bed with it, and finds it dead in the Morning.

Thoſe who exhort others to live after their Manner, conſider not that they reliſhed, in their Youth, the very Things they diſlike in advanced Age; and now follow with Pleaſure the Studies they formerly diſliked. To compel old People to uſe their youthful Recreations, would be

be robbing them of their preſent Enjoyments. "Other Times other Manners; other Minds "other Pleaſures." I had formerly Pleaſure in Dancing, for which at preſent I find no Reliſh. And if any Man cenſures me for this, he may as well cenſure me for being grown older. If we duly obſerved this Change of Taſte in ourſelves, we ſhould not declaim againſt thoſe Ways of others, which are as natural as our own: nor exhort our Friends to follow our Examples; which is no other than kindly endeavouring to deprive them of their Solace and Comfort.

One Man pities his Neighbour for walking on Foot, who, in return, pities him for uſing a Coach: for my part I pity neither, provided they both are pleaſed. I do not even pity the *Ruſſian* Women, who beg a Beating of their Huſbands; but look upon them as happy, if they really reliſh this Kind of Repaſt. Our Taſtes are various, and produce good Effects in the World. Some are pleaſed with Concords, others more with Diſcords, in Muſic. Some prefer the Cry of a Pack of Hounds to a Concert; as a certain *Scythian* General preferred the neighing of a Horſe to the Sound of a Trumpet. Thoſe Things ſuit every Man beſt, which are moſt agreeable to him. Whatever is good or bad for us, in our own Eſtimation, and Experience, is good or bad in Reality. An imaginary Illneſs is real to the Perſon; and imaginary Honour real to the Poſſeſſor. Hence, if any Man rejoices in a Title, I congratulate with him; not upon account of the Title, but, on account of his Joy.

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As our Taſte muſt not regulate that of others, we ſhould not call a Pleaſure unnatural, becauſe it does not ſuit with our Nature. Nor ought we to cenſure the Inclinations of others, merely becauſe they contradict our own; but rather encourage every Man to follow the Bent of his particular Nature and Appetite; provided we do not countenance hurtful Pleaſures. We muſt check and reſtrain all ſuch Inclinations, both in ourſelves and others, as tend to impair and deſtroy the Body, wound the Mind, and bring Miſery upon Man. Here we muſt all ſacrifice our Taſte to our Happineſs. In other Reſpects, it is beſt to follow Nature; and we may juſtly eſteem thoſe happy, who are at Liberty to do it.

Content. If *Diogenes* lived contented in his Tub, he was as happy as *Alexander*. Equal Content, will render Men equally happy, in the different Situations of Life.

XIV.

The Philoſopher and Fool compared in Point of Happineſs.

The Stoical wiſe Man. THE Stoics hold, that the wiſe Man alone is happy. This Tenet I ſubſcribe to; and here at leaſt keep in the common Road. Many, I know, are diſpleaſed with paradoxical Opinions: I alſo diſlike them myſelf, when they

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are only ſported to ſhew Wit, Learning, or Superiority of Genius. I approve, I ſay, of this Maxim of the Stoics; I applaud their Manner of Reaſoning, and the Arguments made uſe of, particularly by *Cicero*, in Proof and Support of it. For, *Cicero* has treated the Subject with ſuch Force and Fulneſs, that ſcarce any thing is left to be added. And, indeed, who can deny that Man to be rich, and free, and happy, who deſpiſes Riches, controuls his Paſſions, and remains untouched by Misfortunes? And, can any one doubt, that thoſe are Beggars and Slaves, who ſtoop and cringe to their own Paſſions, and Luſts; who are caſt down by the ſmalleſt Misfortunes; or, like *Tantalus*, ſuffer Hunger and Thirſt in the midſt of Plenty? Againſt all this nothing can be oppoſed: and we may juſtly call them wiſe, who are thus at once, rich, happy, and free.

I have only one Scruple, which I ſubmit to their Conſideration who defend this Stoical Maxim without Limitation; and beg they would give me ſuch a Deſcription of their wiſe Man, as may enable me to know him when I meet him. I have no Doubt of the wiſe Man's Happineſs; I barely queſtion whether he has any Exiſtence but in Idea. "I cannot," ſays the great Philoſopher *Crantor*, "approve of thoſe "who ſpeak ſo big of a certain Kind of Reſigna- "tion and Indifference, which neither exiſts, nor "can exiſt. We are not made of Stone; there "is ſomething ſoft and weak in our Minds, "which makes them eaſily bend and yield." Here Whether real.

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we ſee, by the ingenuous Confeſſion, even of a Stoic, how ſlightly thoſe Qualities are grounded, which the Sect attribute to their wiſe Man; and that ſuch Qualities cannot be attributed to a Man compoſed of Fleſh and Blood, but only to an imaginary Man. And, accordingly, *Cicero* ſays, that ſuch a wiſe Man reſembles the Gods. *Hunc ego non cum ſummis Viris comparo; ſed Diis ſimillimum judico.*

The wiſe Man and Fool compared.

If this be the Caſe; and if Experience teſtify, that the Greatneſs of Mind, Steadineſs, and Perfection, aſcribed to the wiſe Man, are rather to be found in the abſtract Ideas of Philoſophers, than in the real World; perhaps the Happineſs here aſcribed to the wiſe Man, may rather be found in the Fool. Let us therefore compare the Fool with the Philoſopher, or ſuch a wiſe Man as conſiſts of Fleſh and Blood.

The wiſe Man.

Many Things torment a Philoſopher, merely becauſe he is wiſe: for, as he knows himſelf, he ſees what he can, and what he cannot perform; he ſees his own Vices and Virtues, his Weakneſs and Strength, his Wants and Poſſeſſions. Paſt, preſent, and future Things ſtand before him; he perceives the Faults he commits, and fears to commit more: hence he lives in Trouble, Anxiety, and Dread; whereby his Happineſs, which ſhould conſiſt in Peace and Serenity of Mind, becomes clouded and diſturbed. When Matters turn out unexpectedly to him, he condemns his own Want of Foreſight; when he performs any Thing ſucceſsfully, he is ſcarce contented, becauſe he finds a kind of Imperfection, even

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in his beſt Actions; as judging they might have been better performed; blaming himſelf, and fearing the Cenſure of others: whence his Knowledge leſſens his Joy. *Ariſtotle* was not ſatisfied with his own Writings; and, near his Death, ordered them to be ſuppreſſed. *Virgil* felt the ſame Uneaſineſs: and therefore directed the burning of his *Æneid*. Few prudent Generals can, like *Alexander*, ſleep ſound, the Night before a Battle. Few prudent Stateſmen can avoid Concern and Uneaſineſs, when they give Counſel. To weigh, conſider, and doubt, is the Character of every wiſe Man.

Character of the Fool.

Now, the Fool is free from Troubles of this Kind. If he conducts Things unſucceſsfully, he throws the Blame upon Fortune; if he commits a Fault, he does not acknowledge it; and when others laugh at him, he values himſelf the more. If People cenſure his Words or Actions, he aſcribes it to Malice, Calumny, or the wrong Turn of the Times. That Kind of Laughter, which plays in the Face of the Fool, and officiouſly waits upon his Diſcourſe, ſhews he admires, and is delighted with himſelf. If others are not moved along with him, he preſently infers, that they are dull, and have not underſtood him, or taken the Strength of his Diſcourſe. He looks upon thoſe as lumpiſh, who do not dance to his Tune; he pities the poor Creatures, and confirms himſelf in his own pleaſing Opinion, that he is wiſer than the reſt. If the Fool writes Verſes, he yields to no Poet but *Homer*; and that only becauſe of *Homer's* Antiquity.

If the Matter ſtand thus, does not the Self-love of the Fool fill his Heart with Content and Joy? Tho' the Fool poſſeſs no one Virtue, yet he fancies himſelf poſſeſſed of them all: and Imagination and Self-Opinion is a kind of Poſſeſſion. For, as the *Malade-imaginaire* remains really diſordered, till he becomes well; ſo an imaginary Poſſeſſion is real, as long as the Imagination continues. The Fool is like that odd Fellow at *Athens*, who rejoiced over the Ships which came into the Harbour, believing them all his own: or like that Hypochondriac, who imagined he conſtantly heard Seraphic Muſic; and inſtead of gratifying the Phyſician for his Cure, accuſed him, as a Thief, who had robbed him of his Delight. The Fool is a great Self-Flatterer; ſees nothing but Beauty in himſelf, and never obſerves his own Failings; which rather appear as ſo many Perfections in his Eye. The Fool takes Shadow for Subſtance; and runs about after Baubles, and Show, and the Names of Things; which to him appear Matters of Conſequence: and as theſe Trifles are eaſily obtainable, he never wants Play-Things to pleaſe and delight him. Nay, let him be deſpiſed and turned out of Office; yet he takes no Shame to himſelf: for as he is firmly perſuaded, that this happens to him from Spite and Envy of his great Abilities, he only bewails his dear Country, where Wiſdom is dethroned, and Folly prevails ſo much, that the worthieſt and beſt of Subjects have no Opportunity to diſplay their Talents: and hence the Fool is always better armed, than the Philoſopher, againſt Accidents and

and Misfortunes. Stoical Teachers exhort us to Patience, Submiſſion, and a kind of Inſenſibility. They tell us Wiſdom is a Shield, that defends us againſt Accidents, Dangers, and Deluſions; and that thoſe alone are happy, who go thus prudently guarded. This is their Tenour of Preaching. But if we deſire them to ſhew us Examples of theſe happy wiſe Men; they can ſcarce produce an Inſtance, in all human Nature, that agrees with the Deſcription; or of any one who remained inſenſible to Misfortunes, and died, as they pretend, with Joy, and Content.

High Pretenſions to Wiſdom.

Let us conſider *Cicero*, let us conſider *Seneca*; who have written with the greateſt Strength upon theſe admirable Philoſophical Qualities: we find one of them frequently betraying effeminate Weakneſs; and the other, thro' Fear, was frequently benumbed, and rendered ſpeechles. They both endeavoured to procure Wealth and Honours; nor ever turned their Backs upon the World, till the World turned its Back upon them: and they were both ready to dance for Joy, when Matters again went proſperouſly. A Man may magnify his Inſenſibility to Pain, as much as he pleaſes; yet it is no better than Boaſting. *Poſidonius* might pretend that Pain was no Evil; yet his Sighs, Threats, and Diſtortions, betrayed he could feel. *Aria* might, with an Air of Diſſimulation, cry *Pæte, non dolet*; *Pæte!* but with all her Grimace, ſhe felt the Dagger: for no Man can, by Diſſimulation, make his Back Proof againſt the Rod. But, allowing that ſome few might be found, who, by means of Philoſophy,

have attained to this high Perfection; yet theſe rare Creatures do not know whether they permanently poſſeſs ſuch Qualities, or only imagine they do for the Time. On the other hand, Experience ſhews us an ample Catalogue of Fools, who behave ſo excellently on all trying Occaſions, as to ſtem the Tide of Misfortunes, Cenſure, and Contempt, in a much happier Manner than Philoſophers.

The Conduct of Fools and Wiſe.

My Meaning is, that Fools behave more happily for themſelves, under Adverſity, Contempt, and Removal from Office and Dignities, than ſenſible Men. For Fools believe, that whatever befalls them of this Kind, happens unjuſtly; whilſt they remain cloathed in a fancied Robe of Innocence. If Examples were neceſſary to confirm a Point of this Notoriety, we might pour in various Sorts of glaring Inſtances, from Hiſtory and daily Experience: but the Point is clear without them.

It may be objected, that tho' Fools ſtand better in Adverſity, than Philoſophers; yet they do not conduct themſelves ſo well in Proſperity; and therefore their Ignorance, or Stupidity, ſubjects them to great Contempt.

The Hardſhips of the Wiſe.

But here the good Fortune of Fools aſſiſts them; who are ſenſible to Praiſe, but have no Senſe of Contempt. Thoſe who think the State of Ridicule, and Diſgrace, which Fools live in, is any Suffering to them, ſeem to underſtand little of Hiſtory, or human Nature. Fools are ſo fortunate, that a certain Philoſopher, who knew the World, being aſked which he preferred,

Wiſdom

Wiſdom, or Riches, replied; "I ſhould rather "chuſe Wiſdom, if I did not ſo commonly ſee "wiſe Men begging in the Anti-Chambers of "Fools."

Mallem me doctum, doctos niſi ſæpe viderem
Nudos, Stultorum ſerpere veſtibulis.

If we caſt our Eyes upon Kingdoms and Republics, take a Survey of the Philoſophers and Fools therein, and compare their Conditions; we ſhall find the intelligent Men of all Countries ſailing betwixt Rocks and Shelves, that threaten Deſtruction; whilſt Fools enter full ſail into the Harbour of Proſperity. So many Merits the wiſe Man has, ſo many Hindrances to his Promotion. The nearer he is to the Port, the more ſlowly he moves; for all the Fools combine againſt Merit, and ſhut the Door of Honour and Profit againſt the Man, who is worthy to enter.

On the other hand, Fools meet with no Reſiſtance, no Rub in the Way: they procure every Man's Favour; becauſe they have no Talents, no Capacity, to awaken Jealouſy or Suſpicion; and are carried, as it were upon the Shoulders of the People, to Honours and Dignities; and put into Employments, to keep wiſe Men out. And hence ſome ſubtile People imitate the Fool; and carefully conceal their Talents, when they endeavour to riſe in Life. It is ſometimes a crafty Policy, to appear as a Fool; like *Sixtus* the Fifth, who counterfeited himſelf ſo decrepit and weak, as to be fit to be led; and thus obtained the Papacy.

The Emperor *Claudius* preſerved his Life, and came to the Throne, by this Kind of Folly: for he would not have been ſuffered to live to govern the *Roman* Empire, if he had ſhewn common Senſe, under *Caligula*; who hated and perſecuted whatever wore the Name of Merit or Virtue. Thus they who are ſhielded with Folly, take large Strides to Preferment, and paſs thro' the World without Hindrance; whereas wiſe Men are checked and kept under, whilſt Fools riſe by their own Levity.

The Labours and Rewards of the Wiſe.

In Church Hiſtory, we find the Fate of the Wiſe ſtill harder. Men of Philoſophical Abilities, Lovers of Truth, and diligent Enquirers after the Way to Salvation, have frequently been rewarded with Perſecution, Baniſhment, Excommunication, Impriſonment, and Refuſal of Burial; nay, the Zeal of their Perſecutors has ſometimes ſentenced them to eternal Damnation: whilſt Men of ſlender Underſtandings have either turned their little Thoughts to ſuch Points as might not diſturb their Reſt; or to ſuch as could not be fathomed by their ſhallow Capacities: yet their want of Ability has produced great Advantages; and procured them the Reputation of eloquent, pious, peaceable, orthodox Souls The Fruits which Fools reap, by ſuch eaſy Means, are Promotions, Honours, Eſteem, and all they can wiſh. A Fool may be beloved as long as he lives; honoured, praiſed, and ſometimes canonized after his Death.

If a Stoic, with Tranquility, and ſweet Compoſure of Mind, can ſuffer Hatred, Defamation, Perſecution, &c. I will gladly acknowledge him happy. But ſince Experience aſſures us, that few ſuch Heroes exiſt, and that inſuperable Fortitude of Mind is only to be found in thoſe whom God has been pleaſed to bleſs with Qualities more than human; this high-flown Maxim of the Stoics has no ſolid Pretence to Truth among Men; however it may hold in ſuperior Beings. The Stoical Perfection not to be found in mere Men.

Some Philoſophers indeed have oppoſed Misfortunes with Reſolution, and reaped the Fruits of their Virtue: ſome Fools and Profligates have been ſubdued by Adverſity, and lived under conſtant Diſtreſs. But I muſt inſiſt upon it, that more Examples may be brought on the contrary Side; ſo as to ſtrengthen the Argument, in point of Generality.

Folly excellently ſupplies the Place of Underſtanding. *Horace* declares, "he would rather "be a Fool, if his Follies delighted him; or "he did not obſerve them; than be a wiſe "Man, and live uncomfortably." If Fools are not happy in the Opinion of others, at leaſt they are ſo in their own. Who can deny that *Don Quixote* was happy, when he imagined the whole World trembled at his Lance; and thought his Battle with the Windmill as great a Victory, as any of *Alexander's?* Uſe of Folly.

XV.

Of Hiſtory.

Uncertainty of early Hiſtory.

THE Advantages of Hiſtory are great; but its Uncertainty leſſens its Uſe. The moſt ancient Hiſtory conſiſts of Fictions. From the Creation to the Deluge, we have no more than is contained in Holy Writ; which gives but a ſhort Genealogy of Families. This Period of Time is, therefore, called the Dark Age. From the Deluge to the firſt Olympiad, we have ſcarce any Thing remaining but poetical Fables; whence this Interval is termed the Poetical Age. The ſucceeding Times alone are called Hiſtorical. And tho' we here begin the *Æra* of true Hiſtory; yet, the Truth is ſo mixed and confounded with Fiction, that we find no ſatisfactory Accounts of Things.

The Aſſyrian Monarchy.

The Hiſtory of the firſt, or *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, is ſo confuſed, and the Relations of Hiſtorians ſo different, that we perceive not the leaſt Agreement among them, either in Point of Time, or the Names of the Kings; ſo that after beſtowing ſome Years upon this Study, we are juſt as wiſe as when we began. Authors long laboured to reconcile the contradictory Accounts of theſe Times; ſettle the Chronology; the Order and Succeſſion of the Princes; the Beginning, Increaſe, and Duration of this great Monarchy: and after they had exhauſted their Strength, it comes

comes, at laſt, to be diſcovered, that there never was any ſuch general Monarchy. The great Monarchs, from *Belus* to *Sardanapalus*, who were ſuppoſed to bridle the ancient World, thus vaniſh at once, or at beſt change into petty Princes. The *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, generally allowed to have continued above a thouſand Years, appears a mere Fiction; becauſe *Aſia*, during that Time, was full of different Sovereign Princes, and independent Kingdoms; which no way agrees with Univerſal Monarchy. We alſo find a Succeſſion of *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Iſraelitiſh* Kings; ſome whereof were magnificent and mighty. And it may be ſaid, that *David*, King of *Iſrael*, was the greateſt *Aſiatic* King of his Time. Among the Kings of *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* is ſaid to have ſubdued all the Eaſt, as far as *India*. The ancient *Aſſyrian* Monarchy therefore vaniſhes; to the Diſappointment of thoſe who have ſpent ſo much Time and Labour upon it. Teachers ſhould beware how they beat ſuch an Hiſtory of Facts into Youth, as never exiſted but in the Idea of falſifying Writers. The Fictions of *Cteſias* have been taken for real Hiſtory; under which Shape it has been handed down to the preſent Time.

Numerous other Things, ſuppoſed to have happened in *Aſia*, during the flouriſhing State of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and circumſtantially related as Facts, are of the ſame Stamp; inſomuch that ſome have queſtioned, whether the *Trojan* War had any real Exiſtence out of *Homer's* Brain. We cannot date the Beginning of the *Aſſyrian*

Empire

Empire earlier than from *Pul*, who lived near a thouſand Years after *Pelo* or *Nimrod*, and is thought to have been the firſt Monarch. After the Time of *Pul* the *Aſſyrians* increaſed, and almoſt overſpread the other Nations; and here we come to a more certain Hiſtory, tho' we every where meet with great Confuſion in it.

The Perſian Monarchy.

Of the *Perſian* Monarchy, founded by *Cyrus*, we have greater Certainty; becauſe the Times are later: and yet, if the Reigns, as delivered by *Cteſias*, and ſuppoſed to be drawn from the *Perſian* Monuments of Antiquity, be compared with the *Grecian* Accounts, they appear to be different Hiſtories: for neither the Times, nor the Facts, nor the Names of Kings agree. What *Xenophon* relates of the Birth, Death, &c. of *Cyrus*, entirely contradicts what others relate thereof. The *Perſian* Hiſtory, wrote by the famous *Arabian*, *Mircond*, and ſuppoſed to be taken from the old *Perſian* Monuments, has no manner of Agreement with the common Hiſtories.

Greek Hiſtory.

The ancient *Grecian* Hiſtory is no more than a Collection of crude and monſtrous Fables; ſo that we have no genuine Account of Things, till we come to the laſt Books of *Herodotus*; and even here we cannot take all for Truth. *Thucydides*, therefore, may be eſteemed the firſt genuine *Hiſtorian*; and it is a great Pity that his excellent Writings ſhould contain no more than a Part of the *Peloponneſian* War, which happened, in his own Time, betwixt the Cities of *Greece*. Both this Hiſtory, and that of *Xenophon*, contain

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ſo many feigned Speeches, as make near one third Part of their Works. What is here ſaid of the *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, and *Grecian* Hiſtory, may likewiſe be underſtood of the ancient *Roman*, and of that of later Nations; the Accounts of the Origins and earlieſt Times whereof, contain nothing but monſtrous Fables.

The Hiſtory of the middle Age is ſo far better, as it gives us the Order and Succeſſion of Rulers; tho' this indeed is its greateſt Excellence: for we find little elſe in it, beſides a Chain of abſurd Wonders and Miracles. As moſt of theſe Writers were Monks, and Creatures of the Popes, there is no truſting to the Characters they give us of Princes. Hiſtory of the middle Age.

Since the Reformation, and the Reſtoration of Learning, we have had better Hiſtories, both for Matter and Style; tho' indeed their Number is ſmall. Moſt of the modern Hiſtorians have the ſame Failings with the ancient, or even greater; for Truth and Integrity are more rare among them, than among the Ancients. It is a great Blot in Chriſtian Hiſtorians, to be guilty of a Crime, which Writers of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories were free from; *viz.* that of praiſing and condemning the Virtues and Vices of Princes, not according to Reality, but the religious Sects they were of. Chriſtian Writers ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves from others by Truth. Integrity and Juſtice are Signs of the Excellency of the Chriſtian Religion: whereas, moſt of the Chriſtian Writers have remarked no Vices in the Orthodox, and no Virtues in the Heterodox Princes. Hiſtory ſince the Reformation.

ces. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in two ſucceeding Emperors.

Partiality of Hiſtory.

Conſtantius, Son to *Conſtantine* the Great, bears a tolerably good Character among the Writers of his Time; tho' he may really be reckoned as bad as the worſt of the *Roman* Emperors, both for Folly and Cruelty. His Folly appears by the Regulation of the Court, after his Deceaſe; when, among other Things, there were found near a thouſand Court-Barbers; who all acted as Privy Counſellors. His Cruelty, in ſome Particulars, exceeded that of the greateſt Tyrants; for he kept certain Spies, whoſe Office it was to enquire what Dreams People had; and he condemned all thoſe to Death, who had dreamt any thing againſt the Court. One of theſe Spies was a *Perſian*, by Name *Mercurius*, who bore the Title of the *Earl of Dreams*. This ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the People, that none of them durſt confeſs their Dreams, or even acknowledge they had ſlept.

On the other hand, the Emperor *Julian*, who ſucceeded *Conſtantius*, excelled almoſt all his Predeceſſors in Humanity, Courage, Modeſty, and Underſtanding; yet was painted, by his Hiſtorians, as a Monſter of Vice, becauſe he did not favour the Chriſtians.

Licenſing of Books corrupts Hiſtory.

The public licenſing of Books, introduced into different Countries, has alſo been a Cauſe why Things are not deſcribed as they happened, or were tranſacted, but publiſhed and handed down as the Government or Ruling Powers were pleaſed to direct; whence a Hiſtory has often

nothing

nothing to recommend it but the dead Style: the Soul of the Work, the Truth, being ſeparated from it. And hence we generally find all licenſed or authorized Hiſtories contain little more than Encomium, and meagre Chronicles, of which the authorizing *Imprimatur* is an almoſt infallible Sign. In Fact, the few good Hiſtories publiſhed in theſe later Times, have been the Productions of Countries, where no Licenſing of Books is practiſed.

Other Cauſes of corrupt Hiſtory.

Many other Things, beſides the Public Authority of Licenſing, may contribute to the corrupting and ſpoiling of Hiſtory. A Hiſtory may be ſpoiled by immoderate Zeal, or Fury for one's Country; Hope of Reward; Orthodoxy; Faction; Party; Hatred; Fear, and other Cauſes, capable of perverting, diſguiſing, or ſuppreſſing the Truth. A *Tory* relates a Matter of Fact very differently from a *Whig*; and a Hiſtory wrote by a *Guelf*, differs from a Hiſtory of the ſame Time by a *Gibelline*. Hiſtories generally wear the Complexion of the Writer, and the Country wherein they were written. Hence we find great Difficulty in diſcovering the Truth, and are obliged to confront and compare contradictory Hiſtorians with one another, in order to gain Light and proper Information. We are even obliged to do the ſame, with the different Accounts of a Battle, a Siege, &c. and muſt read the Relations of both Sides, and obſerve their Contradictions, and Agreements, to find the Medium, as near as poſſible, before we can arrive at the Truth of a ſingle Fact.

But beſides theſe Reaſons, what renders the Hiſtories of our Times ſo imperfect, is, that every Man now ſets up for an Hiſtorian; and writes Books for his own Advantage, inſtead of the Reader's: which, of late, is become a Trade. And hence proceeds that Deluge of Hiſtories which now overſpreads *Europe*; conſiſting of large Volumes of Compilations, and little ones of Scraps and Bits, all ſerved up over and over again; only new vamped, diſguiſed, and maſqueraded to the Taſte and Sale of the Times.

Such are the Failings and Misfortunes attending the noble Study of Hiſtory; which, in itſelf, I take to be the moſt uſeful Kindof Reading, next to Divinity; and what ſhould be recommended to all; but eſpecially to Perſons in high Stations and public Characters. For, I have not enumerated its Failings in order to diſcredit or diſparage Hiſtory; but only to ſhew with what Caution it ought to be read; and what Patience and Labour it requires, to reap the real Advantage of it. Moſt Hiſtories are like Mines, wherein Treaſure lies buried, if a Man has but Patience and Diligence to ſearch for it.

The Materials required for good Hiſtory.

No modern Writers have hitherto equalled the *Engliſh* and *French* Hiſtorians; not becauſe other Nations have wanted able Writers, ſo much as proper Materials; by which I mean ſuch curious Memoirs, Journals, and particular Accounts, as Miniſters and Generals have themſelves written and publiſhed, from Time to Time. Of this Kind of Writings, there is Plenty in *France*; and they greatly contribute to the Service, Uſe, and

and Ornament of Hiſtory. To be convinced hereof, we need only read the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XIII. written by *le Vaſſor:* for this copious Hiſtory is nothing but a Chain of ſuch Memoirs; which not only fully ſet forth the Turns and Tranſactions of thoſe Times, but alſo ſhew the true and ſecret Cauſes of them. Here we find Cabals, Court-Intrigues, &c. opened and explained, as the Wheels that drive the whole Machine. Here we find the Characters of Generals, Miniſters, and Courtiers; which renders the Hiſtory as uſeful as it is entertaining. But theſe kind of Memoirs are ſcanty in other Countries; where the Materials found for Hiſtory chiefly conſiſt of public Acts, Letters, Manifeſtos, Treaties, Pamphlets, &c. which tho' very uſeful in Hiſtory, yet of themſelves, render it dry, barren, and unentertaining. For, thus indeed we ſee that Things were done, but not how they were brought about: whereas the greateſt Revolutions ſometimes ſpring from ſmall Cauſes, not to be found in Archives or public Acts, but merely in ſuch Memoirs as were written by the Perſons concerned in the Tranſactions they relate; and wherein they themſelves acted as Parties. If we may credit *Brantorie*, one of the greateſt Warlike Expeditions of theſe modern Times, was cauſed by an Amour. The Intereſt of a Miniſter, the Ambition of a Favourite, Love and Gallantry, have frequently thrown whole Countries into Flames, and proved the real Cauſes of War; very different from thoſe aſſigned in Manifeſtos, Inſtructions,

Inſtructions, and Inſtruments, preſerved in the Archives of Princes.

For want of ſuch Memoirs, certain Authors, like the Writers of News, are obliged to fill up their Hiſtories with trivial Accounts; which give the Reader an Averſion to this uſeful Study. And hence the Hiſtories of the Northern Countries, where it has never been the Cuſtom for People to write Memoirs of their own Tranſactions, or the Hiſtories of their own Times, conſiſt chiefly of ſuch Stuff as we find in the public Prints; and are only the Skeleton of Hiſtory. I wiſh this may not come to be the Caſe even in *France* and *England*; where, at preſent, we hear of no *Xenophons*, no *Thucydides's*, no *Cæſars*, or Generals who write their own Tranſactions, for the Uſe and Inſtruction of Poſterity. We find no Memoirs now publiſhed in *France*, like thoſe in the laſt Age; no *Memoirs de Fleury*, *de Villars*, *de Vendôme*, *de Berwick*, &c. Great Generals and Stateſmen trouble themſelves no longer with Writing; but leave that Drudgery to lower People; and therefore future Hiſtory muſt be of a low Nature.

In *England* we ſtill have ſome Hopes of tolerable Hiſtory; for tho' the *Engliſh* Miniſters and Generals ſeldom write their own Memoirs; yet every Thing is, one way or other, printed, publiſhed, or known; even up to Parliamentary Tranſactions; which in other Countries are held as Myſteries of State, not to be whiſpered without-Doors. And by this Means, the Defect of Memoirs may, in ſome Meaſure, be ſupplied; and

and Poſterity be furniſhed with *Engliſh* Hiſtories worth their Reading; if we had ſuitable Writers.

It is a great Failing in ſeveral Antiquarians and Hiſtorians, to ſtretch the Antiquity of their own Kingdoms too far back, and to ſpeak too pompouſly of the Deeds of their Anceſtors. This is Vanity, and idle Pretence. The Northern Antiquarians are ſo extravagant herein, as to be quite ridiculous. They pretend that every Thing was originally *Gothic*, and that whatever happened in ancient Times, happened in the North; ſo that they make *Noah's* Ark to have reſted upon *Doverfield*; and the Fruit of the forbidden Tree to have been *Swediſh* Apples. It is to be hoped, that future Writers will be leſs arrogant; and abide by nothing that is not clear and certain. No Man doubts of the Antiquity of the Northern Kingdoms, and of the great Deeds of the *Goths*; but the indulging of Conjectures may render a plain Thing uncertain. The *Jews* find Colonies of the Ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, in all the Quarters of the World, even in *America*. And when they aſſure us that *Dan*, one of the Sons of *Jacob*, was the firſt King of *Denmark*, the *Danes* are fairly beat in their own Bow. Vanity of Hiſtorians.

Many ſuppoſe, that the Marrow of Hiſtory is contained in the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians; and that *Thucydides*, and the *Roman* Writers who followed his Example, are perfect in Point of Beauty, Style, and Integrity. Indeed, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Dion Caſſius*, *Herodian*, &c. among the The Greek and Roman Hiſtory.

Greeks; and *Salluſt*, *Cæſar*, *Livy*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, &c. among the *Romans*, were Men highly diſtinguiſhed both in Rank and Learning for in thoſe Times, Perſons of that Sort commonly undertook the Writing of Hiſtory; but in ours, Matters are altered, and Hiſtory become a Trade, carried on by Hirelings, People of low Fortunes, Birth, and Abilities; whence their Hiſtories are like themſelves, mean and ſordid.

The Byzantine Hiſtory.

Moſt of the later *Greeks*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Eaſtern Empire, were Men of high Rank and Dignity: Patriarchs, Princes, Princeſſes, and Emperors were concerned in it; yet theſe can by no means be compared with the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians, either as to Matter or Style. Their Matter is Party, and turns upon Praiſe or Blame. In Point of Style, no Hiſtory is more abſurd than the *Byzantine*: for, excepting ſome few, as *Procopius*, *Cantacuzenus*, and *Chalcondy*, the whole of it reſembles Poetry more than Proſe; and ſeems wrote for ſinging rather than reading. Their common Phraſeology is Bombaſt: thus, inſtead of ſaying a Man died, they ſay "he deſcended to the Place from whence no Perſon ever yet returned;" and inſtead of "he knew nothing," they ſay, "it was as difficult for him to know or ſpeak, as it is eaſy for God to tell how many Drops of Water are contained in the Sea." So that nothing but Verſe is wanting to turn this Hiſtory into Poetry.

It

It is to be lamented that the moſt momentous Hiſtories, to us *Europeans*, ſhould be the worſt written of any; and cannot be peruſed without Diſguſt: whilſt many of the leſs neceſſary, and leſs uſeful Sort, are wrote with great Judgment and Elegance. The *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories are diligently laboured, and accurately wrote; but it is in the Hiſtories of the middle Age, that we muſt ſeek for the Origins of the preſent *European* Kingdoms and States; becauſe nearly all their Foundations were laid in thoſe Times. On the other hand, the reading of the *Roman* and *Greek* Hiſtory is not only curious, but uſeful, for the Morality derivable from it.

Uſe of the Greek and Roman Hiſtory.

XVI.

Ancient and Modern Times compared.

AMONG many curious Queſtions that deſerve diſcuſſion, it may be worth enquiring, whether the World grows better or worſe. If we judge from common Opinion, this Queſtion is ſoon decided; becauſe Men generally determine in Favour of the old World; and ſide with the Poets, who give us pleaſing Deſcriptions of the Golden Age, and the Reign of *Saturn*. But as it is unſafe to rely upon general Opinions, and poetical Fictions; we muſt

How to know whether the World improves.

ſeek for Examples, Particulars, and Illuſtrations from Hiſtory, to ground a true Judgment upon.

Government and Penal Laws ancient.

Before States or Societies were founded, and Laws enacted, Men lived in, what is called, a State of Nature; of which we can ſay very little, becauſe the moſt ancient Hiſtories are here dark, imperfect, and full of Fable and Fiction. It is, however, manifeſt, that Sin and Wickedneſs prevailed in this State, to ſuch a Degree, that Men gave up their beſt Jewel, their Liberty, for the common Security; formed Societies, and ſubmitted to Rule and Dominion. Such a Remedy ſhews the Diſeaſe was great; and that Mankind then ſuffered, as it were, the Loſs of a Limb, to preſerve the Body.

The Poets and Antiquarians, may give us what Deſcriptions they pleaſe of the Golden Times, and the Reign of the Shepherds; yet the early founding of Societies, the Uſe of Penal-Laws, Priſons, and the Gallows, plainly prove the ancient State of Mankind was not ſo ſimple, equitable, and pure, as theſe Gentlemen pretend. We alſo find, that ſuch a ſuppoſed natural State was of no long Duration; for Societies and Kingdoms were founded ſoon after the Flood.

Whence the World is unjuſtly ſuppoſed to grow worſe.

As ſoon as we have any certain Knowledge from Hiſtory, we find that the World had its good and bad Times, its Ebbs and Flows; and that it always was wicked, tho' the Scene has frequently changed: for one Kind of Corruption, Vice, or Wickedneſs, no ſooner diſappeared, than another ſucceeded.

The

The ſevere Judgments paſſed upon later Times, ſeem owing to Men's not conſidering the World in the Whole, but only in particular Parts; and examining certain Countries inſtead of the Earth in general. When we ſurvey Kingdoms and Republics ſingly, moſt of them appear to have been ſound and healthy at firſt; and to have grown ſickly, weak, and infirm, as they advanced in Years; till at length they became ſo degenerate and corrupt, that Folly, Vice, and Wickedneſs, getting the upper hand, compleated their Ruin. This particular Idea of a Country, Men have unwarily transferred to the World in general; and make the whole Globe to have its Youth, its Manhood, and laſtly its old Age, which they ſuppoſe muſt needs be its weakeſt and wickedeſt State.

That this Opinion is taken up ſlightly, appears upon laying the entire Hiſtory of the World before us: where we ſee that every Kingdom and Republic is commonly good at its original Foundation; each Founder making his Honour conſiſt in ſupporting and preſerving the Work of his own Hands. For Founders, Inventors, Miniſters, and Managers, are always inclined to ſhew their beſt Skill and Induſtry at firſt. But, as out of a ſick and fallen Kingdom, new and ſound Republics may ariſe; and freſh vigorous Kingdoms out of weak and ſhattered Republics; this ſhews us that good Laws and Regulations languiſh with Time, and grow, as it were, ſuperannuated; and that they likewiſe

may, with Time, be recruited, invigorated, and recovered to their former Strength; or sometimes raised to a greater.

Virtues and Vices rise and set.

Numerous Examples in History prove, that Societies and Governments have one while been Models of Virtue; at another infamous for Vice; and then again, more virtuous than before; as People in great and desperate Illnesses, sometimes not only recover their former Health, but acquire a better Constitution for the future. We likewise see that when Virtue sets in one Country, it rises in another. *Italy* and *Greece* were anciently conspicuous for Valour and Virtue; but the present Inhabitants of those Countries are as low, and contemptible, as their Predecessors were heroical and philosophical. Countries, where anciently no Spark of Morality appeared, now shine forth the Glory and Ornament of the Earth. By comparing ancient with modern *Russia*, we have a glaring Instance of this Truth. And, possibly, *Turkey*, which we at present look upon as a kind of *Barbary*, may hereafter become the Seat of the Muses; and our Posterity travel to *Constantinople*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, or *Algier*, to improve in the polite Arts, and Sciences. We cannot argue for the Corruption of the World in general, from the Fall or Decay of particular States. Virtues and Vices remain the same Things; tho', like Humours in the Body, they sometimes seat themselves in one Part, sometimes in another; so as to cause different nominal Diseases.

Arts and Sciences travel.

The

The ſevere Cenſures uſually paſſed upon the modern World, are alſo encouraged by the daily Invectives of old Grumblers, and Men of four Tempers; who, like Hypochondriacs, imagine the World bewitched, becauſe their own Humours are corrupted: and attribute that to others which only exiſts in themſelves. We frequently hear aged, infirm, ſnarliſh, and diſappointed Men praiſe the Excellence of former Times, and blame the preſent. All that can fairly be ſaid upon the Matter is, that the World remains nearly the ſame; ſo that if a Patriarch were to riſe again, he would find the ſame Vices now reigning, as prevailed in his Days; tho' the Names and Manner of them may indeed be altered. Murder, Adultery, War, Injuſtice, &c. prevail among us in as high a Degree as they did then; only we practiſe them after a different Faſhion. The Facts are the ſame, but their Form is altered: and here lies the principal Difference betwixt the old World and the new.

The World in the whole nearly the ſame.

Vices how far the ſame.

The Ancients committed Murder, as well as the preſent Generation. *Cain* murdered his Brother, ſoon after the Creation. But anciently they went directly to the Point; whereas the modern World is more ſubtile, refined, and delicate in their Procedure, and murder politely. It might ſeem as if *Joab* introduced the genteel Method of murdering; for he firſt ſaluted, then ſtabbed *Abner:* and in this he has been followed by the ſucceeding Ages, down to the preſent; where it has been faſhionable to murder under the Colour of Friendſhip.

Murder.

War. The Ancients made as unjuſt Wars as the Moderns; the Difference conſiſting in the Manner of conducting them. The Ancients bluntly entered upon their unjuſt Wars, without Pretext, Preamble, or Colour aſſigned; but the politer Moderns firſt give due Notice by Manifeſto; proteſt their own Innocence, and ſhew the Neceſſity which, againſt their Will, compels them to Arms. Nay we ſometimes beg the Divine Permiſſion to ravage a Country. This appears by the Days ſet apart to implore Succeſs to our Arms, and the numerous modern Declarations of War, wherein the Almighty is called to witneſs, that Force is uſed unwillingly; and that the contending Powers are heartily ſorry they are obliged to diſturb the public Peace. If *Alexander* the Great, had thus called *Jupiter* to witneſs, how unwilling his pacific Temper was to diſturb the Peace of the World; and declared his hearty Sorrow to be forced to take up Arms againſt his Brother *Darius*; what would the Philoſophers of thoſe Times, what would *Ariſtotle* have thought of ſuch a Manifeſto?

The Ancients judging it diſhonourable, and unbecoming, to fall upon the Enemy unprepared; gave Notice before they offered Battle; and even appointed the Time and Place for Deciſion. This Practice is deſpiſed by modern Leaders; who hold it Folly to give the Enemy Notice of an Attack; endeavour to ſteal an Opportunity, and fall on unexpectedly, to render the Victory ſecure. This modern Inverſion of the ancient Order of War, does not alter

alter the Thing, but the Manner. Indeed we Moderns cenſure not the Vice and Wickedneſs, ſo much as the Cuſtoms and Faſhions, of the Ancients. It may be propheſied, that, if the World continue, the old Faſhions will come into Play again; for Faſhion is changeable, catching and ſpreading.

It muſt be ſaid, to the Honour of the Moderns, that they have aboliſhed the ancient, barbarous Cuſtom, of waging War, practiſed even by the moſt civilized Nations, viz. of burning, waſting, and deſtroying all that they found in the Enemy's Country; putting Men, Women, and frequently Children, to the Sword. This ſhocking Practice continued till the laſt Century; when Men firſt began to carry on War in a more humane and honourable Manner.

Incontinency reigned as much in ancient, as it does in modern Times; tho' the delicate Nymphs of Antiquity would turn pale upon hearing a Man's name. This indeed was obſerved to be Matter of Form; for the Number of obliging Women was as great with them, as with us. The ſubtile Virgins in former Times, were like certian modern Governors, who do not ſurrender till ſome Shots have been exchanged. But the Matter is much the ſame, whether a young Lady gives herſelf up at once, or ſtands a formal Siege; for this is merely a Circumſtance: and Circumſtances, make the greateſt Difference betwixt the preſent and ancient Times. The modern Ladies ſurrender quick, in compariſon of ancient Times; wherein the Virgins obſerved a kind

Incontinency.

kind of Delicacy and Decorum; and proceeded, in Love, by formal Steps and Rules.

Laws. The modern Municipal Laws are more agreeable to good Senſe, and the Reaſon of Things, than the ancient. We may value the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Laws as much as we pleaſe; they contain ſeveral ſtrange and monſtrous Ordinances. Whoever examines the ancient Northern Laws, will likewiſe find many that are abſurd, weak, and even wicked; as the Laws of Duelling; the Ordeal; Brothels; Compoſition for Sacrilege, Adultery, Murder, and other heinous Crimes: ſo that, in reſpect of Laws, we muſt acknowledge the World is improved; tho' it ſtill remains a Queſtion, whether the Moderns keep their better Laws, ſtricter than the Ancients did their worſe.

Law-Suits. Law-Suits appear more tedious among the Moderns, than among the Ancients. Our Forefathers did as much Buſineſs in one Day, by a ſingle Deciſion, as modern Judges do in Years. If the Study of Law had flouriſhed as much in old Times as it does in the new; or if the ancient World had been provided with ſuch Swarms of able Lawyers as we, their Law-Suits would have been as numerous, and ſpun out to as handſome Lengths as at preſent: for the Ancients were as revengeful as the Moderns. I queſtion whether all *Europe* could now be brought into an Alliance for carrying a War into *Aſia*, in order to revenge the ſingle Crime of Adultery. But it muſt be owned, that we quarrel about Trifles; eſpecially of the Theological Sort; which the Ancients were not concerned about: for Divinity

vinity was not yet reduced into Creeds, enjoined by public Authority. They had more Belief, but fewer Articles of Faith than the Moderns.

Promiſes were held more ſacred among the Ancients than among us; their bare Affirmation, or Shake by the Hand, was a ſtronger Obligation than our Oaths, or legal Contracts. The Ancients had leſs Diſſimulation than the Moderns, and could pretty well diſtinguiſh an honeſt Man from a Villain. At preſent, it is the Faſhion to go maſked, cover Deceit with a Robe of Honour, and Wickedneſs with the Cloak of Religion. Contracts.

State, Pomp, and Show, have prevailed ſo much in later Times, eſpecially among the middling People, that the different Orders of Men cannot be diſtinguiſhed by their Attire or Equipage. Titles are ſo multiplied in *Europe*, that if this Practice continue, thoſe of Lord, King, and Emperor, will loſe of their Value; and render it neceſſary for *European* Princes, to borrow the higher Titles of *Eaſtern* Potentates. Magnificence.

The Love of Liberty, and Zeal for the public Good, was greater in ancient Times than at preſent. What heroical, and almoſt incredible, Things were performed by the Ancients from this Principle? But, with us Moderns, it is the Faſhion to do little for the Public; and as much as we can for ourſelves. Few among us are ſuch Patriots, to ſacrifice our Perſons, our Children, our Eaſe, or even our Money, for the public Advantage, or Honour of our Country. Patriotiſm.

Country. This generous Ambition has dwindled and decayed with Time; and Self-love, narrow Pride, and ſordid Principles reign in its Stead, to ſuch a Degree, that the Magnificence and Honour of a Gentleman, now conſiſt in getting Precedency, and Poſts of Renown. Poſſibly, the old, ſimple World, might have entertained no high Opinion of this reigning modern Character.

Rioting leſſened.

The modern World has, however, corrected many Vices that predominated in the old; particularly Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, Brawls, and Riot at Weddings, and Family Rejoicings, &c. Tea, Chocolate, Cards, and Snuff, are innocent Regales, upon theſe Occaſions; and have rendered the Moderns much more ſober than the Ancients: for we do not now force Men to drink above Meaſure. Quarrels, and Diſturbances in Company, are leſs frequent, than formerly: and this good Alteration is owing to Sobriety, and good Manners.

Plays.

The ancienteſt Comedies were coarſe, obſcene, and ſcandalous; but the Moderns have corrected theſe Faults, and rendered Plays more chaſte; ſo that whoever compares the ancient Comedies and Satyrs with the modern, may be delighted to find the old groſs and ſhameleſs Dialogue, changed, in the laſt and preſent Century, for elegant and ingenious Morality.

Education.

The Education of Youth may appear to have been commonly bad in ancient Times; when Schoolmaſters acted more like Tormentors than Teachers. The Ancients, alſo, had a falſe and monſtrous

monſtrous Principle in reſpect of Children, whom they gave up not only for the Good of the Public, but even the private Advantage of Families. Princes and Governors, in thoſe Times, divided their Territories among their Children; whereby many powerful and flouriſhing Kingdoms, were reduced to a miſerable State. The numerous tragical Scenes that happened from ſuch unſeaſonable Care about Proviſions for Children, had not Force ſufficient to regulate or reſtrain this deſtructive Practice: for the Cuſtom of dividing the Patrimony among Children, was every where continued down to the laſt Century; when the Right of Primogeniture, or *Jus Majoratûs*, was firſt introduced into moſt Countries.

Poetry, Oratory, and Hiſtory.

In Poetry and Oratory, the Moderns are allowed to have fallen ſhort of the Ancients; but it is carrying the Matter too far, to ſay, that the Moderns can never arrive at the ancient Perfection. As the modern Trees, according to an ingenious Author, are as large as the ancient; ſo the modern Nations may produce as great Men as *Homer* and *Demoſthenes:* tho' indeed it has been juſtly alledged, that the preſent Characters, and reigning Manners of *Europe*, ſcarce afford Matter for a noble Heroic Poem, or a proper Occaſion for Oratory.

The Sciences.

We muſt acknowledge that the Sciences, and Learning in general, flouriſh more at preſent, than anciently: tho' the old World is not to be cenſured for this; eſpecially as the Ancients prepared the Way to many uſeful Diſcoveries, and Improvements

provements, made by the Moderns. It is eaſy to improve upon Things already begun. The Perfection of the Sciences is a natural Effect of Time, and the ripening Age of the World. Thoſe who hold the preſent Arts and Sciences to be greater, and better founded, than the ancient, may be anſwered as *Clitus* anſwered *Alexander:* "'Tis true you have conquered, but it "was with your Father's Soldiers." But allowing the Moderns to underſtand more Subjects than the Ancients; yet we alſo know more of the uſeleſs Sort: for it may ſtill be ſaid, of our Times, as *Cleanthes* ſaid of his own; "the An-"cients ſtudied Things, but the Moderns principally Words."

Some are of Opinion, that the Ancients knew many great Sciences, which we have no Notion of. Indeed, if what is related of *Democritus* be true; that he could tell, at firſt Sight, whether a young Lady had loſt her Virginity; we muſt acknowledge he had the Advantage of our modern Philoſophers: at the ſame time, it is good Luck for our young Ladies, that the preſent Doctors are not ſo ſkilful.

Superſtition. Superſtition was, in general, much greater among the Ancients, than among us: for, in our Times, we hear very little of ſuch Wonders, Prodigies, and Miracles, as were common among them. Ghoſts and Witches, at preſent, rarely make their Appearance. A better Natural Philoſophy has laid theſe Spirits, and quieted our Church-Yards; where the Ghoſts of the Deceaſed uſed to frolic and gambol, like Rats in a Cellar.

But,

But, poſſibly, we of the preſent Age, may be tending to the oppoſite Extream; and ſhould take Care leſt, by haſtily running from Superſtition, we fall not at once into Scepticiſm and Irreligion.

This, and more, might be pleaded, for and againſt the ancient and modern World. If the Cauſe ſhould be brought to the Bar, the Judge might have ſome Doubt in paſſing his Sentence. Were I an Arbitrator; I ſhould award both Parties to pay their own Coſts.

SECT. II.

Of Intercourſe and Buſineſs.

I.

Of Errors in Judgment.

Errors how to be corrected.

THE more immediate Deſign of theſe little Eſſays, is to lay open the Errors we daily commit, by taking falſe Appearances for true; and looking upon groſs Vices as great Virtues; whence it happens, that wrong Education paſſes for right; ſophiſtical Learning for real; Follies and Fopperies for Knowledge and Science; Avarice for Œconomy; Extravagancy for Generoſity; Place-hunting for Patriotiſm; Treachery and Deceit for Prudence and Wiſdom; Folly for Honeſty; Fraud for Charity; Tyranny for Juſtice; bad Laws for good; Malice and Perſecution for Zeal and Religion; &c. &c. &c. It is a melancholy

choly Reflection, that theſe pernicious Errors ſhould be committed not only by the Vulgar; but even by thoſe who ſhould be Paterns to the People.

By Inſtruction.

Want of Inſtruction, and taking too little Care to know ourſelves, and the World we inhabit, is the general Source of this Misfortune; which ought to be remedied, if poſſible. But here we muſt proceed cautiouſly; for there is a falſe Kind of Zeal, ariſing from Spleen, Diſappointment, Selfiſh-Views, or diſtempered Juices of the Body; which may lead us wrong, and ought to be previouſly corrected, by noting and conſidering our own reſpective Tempers and Conſtitutions. Let us obſerve, whether our Zeal be the ſame one Day as another; whether it be conſtant and uniform, in Proſperity and Affliction, Succeſs and Diſappointment. Some exclaim againſt Errors and Vices in a Morning, who have nothing to reproach the World with in an Evening; and many a ſtinging Speech in Public owes its Origin to private Chagrin, rather than Zeal for the Government. A Maſter finds his Scholars more or leſs docile, according as he is better or worſe provided for. We all take a well directed Zeal for the Motive of our Actions; whilſt none of us know ourſelves. For if we kept a ſtrict Regiſter of our Affections, we ſhould not ſo eaſily miſtake one Paſſion for another; nor look upon our own hideous Vices as ſo many Virtues. Experience ſhews, that ſome Bigots have been cured of their Zeal by Evacuations. Such Zealots, before their Cure, ſee Ob-

And Reflection.

jects larger than the Life. An over-zealous Patriot, like a Man in a Phrenzy, ſees frightful Spectres, which immediately vaniſh upon his being made eaſy. "What a ſtrange World we live "in!" cry ſome, who themſelves are the ſtrangeſt Animals in it.

The Vicious unſucceſsful in correcting Vice.

What is more abſurd, than to hear a Drunkard exclaim againſt Drunkenneſs; a Miſer againſt Covetouſneſs; a Prodigal againſt Extravagance? &c. and yet we ſee daily Inſtances of this. We frequently hear Men reprove the very Faults which themſelves commit. Their Diſcourſes, indeed, may be well adapted; as moſt Men deſerve Reproof; but when ſuch Cenſures come to be analyſed, their Senſe amounts to this. "Ye "groſs Sinners, repent; and follow not my Ex-"ample." If an *Ariſtides* preach againſt Injuſtice, an *Epictetus* againſt Anger, a *Diogenes* againſt Pleaſure; they ſpeak with Dignity and Propriety: their Diſcourſes affect us, becauſe their Lives agree with their Doctrines; whence we may believe their Zeal to be true. When *Diogenes* appeared at *Athens* with his Lanthorn, ſeeking for a Man; whilſt Pleaſure and Vanity had taken Poſſeſſion of the City; ſuch a Behaviour had a juſt Foundation; becauſe he renounced Pleaſures, and led an auſtere Life. But if a Gentleman with a ſplendid Equipage, far above his Fortune, ſhould ſet about converting his Neighbours to Frugality; he might chance to make a piteous Figure. His Undertaking might paſs for Madneſs, rather than Zeal. If ſuch a Perſon, in the midſt of his Career, could

ſee

ſee himſelf, he would find he was acting a Farce; and wonder how he could ſet up for a Reformer. This monſtrous Behaviour in Man, ariſes from a Want of knowing himſelf. I take not upon me the Character of a Cenſor. My Deſign is to ſearch after Truth, and improve Morality. I would act the Part of a Pilot, who ſtands with the Line in his Hand, to fathom the Depth; and mark the Rocks, that others may ſail with the greater Safety.

The Cauſe of Error in Judgment.

I obſerve that great Errors ſtill prevail in the World; and preſume one Reaſon is, becauſe Writers deal more in Words than Things; deſcribe Virtues and Vices like Orators; ſtudy the Taſte of the Times; and rather endeavour to divert and amuſe, than inſtruct, improve, and reform Mankind. Whilſt Writers remain determined to follow ſuch perverted Rules; and inſtead of ſhewing the Foundations of genuine Morality, ſet bad Examples in frothy Diſcourſes, the Bulk of Mankind will remain in their Ignorance; and Sin lie at the Door of Writers.

Want of Inſtruction.

Bad Moraliſts produce no better Effects than bad Preachers; who admoniſh Chriſtians of their Duty in general; and exhort them to practiſe it; but neglect to inculcate the principal Rules of Life: ſo that the Hearers hence become no wiſer, nor live after a better Manner than they did. Admonition, indeed, ſhould be uſed; but Inſtruction is more eſſential. Admonitions are of Uſe; but to be always repeating the ſame Things, cannot be neceſſary.

In moſt of the Books of Morality lately publiſhed, we find great Store of Admonitions, Exhortations to Virtue, and Dehortations from Vice; but theſe Books do not teach us wherein particular Vices conſiſt; how they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed; from what Origin they proceed; and how they are to be avoided by every Man in his reſpective Station; ſo as to promote the general Welfare. Few Writers diſcloſe the Source of Errors, ſo frequently committed to the Hurt of Society; nor ſeem to know that they chiefly ariſe from Ignorance. People are hurried, by Shoals, into Vice, merely thro' Ignorance: and it is impoſſible for them to act right, till they are taught what is Right and Wrong in Particulars. From Ignorance it is, that Men make falſe Judgments one of another. Thus one Man ſhall be praiſed for his Patience, becauſe he is not by Nature prone to Anger; and another be condemned for his Warmth, becauſe he happens to have much Bile in his Conſtitution.

The Sick how to be judged of.

Of all the Miſeries to which Mankind are ſubject, there is none greater than Sickneſs. When the Body becomes diſordered, the Mind participates; and when the Mind ſuffers, it reliſhes no Comforts. Who can find Delight in the beſt Things of this World, if the Mind is diſordered, and loaths them?

All chronical Illneſſes do not equally affect the Mind; but differently, according to the Nature of the Diſeaſe, and the Parts of the Body it ſeizes. Humours falling upon the Bowels, affect us more than when they fall upon the Hands

or

or Feet: and hence an Hypochondriac, the Seat of whoſe Diſorder may be the Stomach or Spleen, grows more impatient under his Illneſs, than one who has only the Gout in his Feet: for tho' the Humour may be the ſame in both, yet it lies nearer the Vitals of the one than the other.

Hypochondriacs.

This Difference is not uſually attended to. People are apt to cenſure one Sort of ſick Complainants, and commend another; equally miſplacing both their Blame and Praiſe. Sick Perſons change their Tempers, as the Seat of the Diſeaſe alters. And tho' Men ſee daily Inſtances of this, they do not reflect, but praiſe or blame the Sick capriciouſly. Hence a miſerable Melancholic ſhall labour under a double Diſeaſe; the internal one of his own bad Feelings, and the external Torment of Hatred and Reproach: for ſome People will not allow ſuch a Sufferer to have any Diſeaſe at all; but contemptuouſly call it Whim, Vapours, Sullenneſs, &c. Such a perverted Judgment is cruel. We readily excuſe Paralytics from Labour; and ſhall we be angry with an Hypochondriac, for not being chearful in Company? Muſt we ſtigmatize ſuch an unfortunate Perſon as peeviſh, poſitive, and unfit for Society? His Diſorder may no more ſuffer him to be merry, than the Gout will ſuffer another to dance. The adviſing a Melancholic to be chearful, is like bidding a Coward be couragious, or a Dwarf be taller.

Men's Failings to be diſtinguiſhed.

Many attribute that to the Will, which ariſes from want of Power; and condemn that in one Perſon, which they commend in another. Spleſ-

netic Men are indeed unpleaſing Company; not to be frequented by thoſe who ſeek for nothing but Entertainment. What I condemn is, the blaming of our Neighbour for an Infirmity, or Temper of Mind, which he cannot help; and thereby loading him with an additional Misfortune. It is one Thing to avoid, but another to hate and accuſe. A Maſter may think proper to hire a lame or deformed Servant; but to hate and reproach him for his Imperfection is inhuman: yet we daily ſee this kind of Behaviour; whilſt Men look upon Things ſuperficially, and do not examine into their Cauſes.

It may appear aſtoniſhing, after ſo many Volumes of Morality as have been wrote, and ſtill continue to be publiſhed, that not only the Unlearned, but even the Learned ſhould remain rivetted to numerous Errors; and that we ſhould take thoſe Things for Effects of Choice or Free-Will, which ariſe from Diſeaſes, or Infirmities, over-ruling the Will. We ſhould, doubtleſs, make the ſame Allowances for Hypochondriacs, as for Men in Fevers: the Reveries in both are equally excuſable; as being equally involuntary.

Tractable and ſtiff Tempers.

I am not apologizing for Moroſeneſs, or ſtrengthening the Wilfull in their Ways. I look upon ill-Nature as a Failing, but not ariſing from free Will; ſince no Man can find a Pleaſure in making himſelf odious: this being contrary to the natural Appetite of Man. I could wiſh the Moroſe would do all in their Power to conquer their Weakneſs; and that their Cenſurers would look upon all Failings, ariſing from Men's natural Conſtitutions,

Conſtitutions, in the beſt Light; eſpecially ſince intractable Men have uſually honeſt Minds. Indeed, Honeſty and true Honour are commonly joined with Stiffneſs of Temper; which bears not the leaſt Touch of Reproach; and ſeldom errs above once: whereas, a placid, eaſy Man, whom nothing offends, readily ſlides from one groſs Failing into another. We ſhould beware of the placid Man. He who can coolly take a Reproach, as ſome People do a Box on the Ear, will be apt to offend again. And, if we ſearch into Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that ſuch Men prove as noxious in Society, as the paſſionate and peeviſh are diſagreeable in Company.

II.

Of Reality and Appearance.

Apparent and real Wiſdom.

THE Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, is ſaid to have pronounced, that "the *French* appear fooliſh, but are wiſe; that the *Spaniards* "appear wiſe, but are fooliſh; and that the "*Italians* appear wiſe, and are ſo." This Judgment I do not take upon me to ſubſcribe; eſpecially with regard to the *Spaniards*; tho' there may be weak People among them, who appear wiſe by means of an affected Gravity.

Sometimes, indeed, Gravity is revered; as a Fool may paſs for a Philoſopher under an aſſumed Deportment, that covers Folly: but if we ſlip the wiſe Cloak aſide, and view the Man in

his Actions; our Eſteem changes to Contempt. What is more ridiculous than an Ape robed like a Judge? A Merry-Andrew by Profeſſion, affords but ſlender Diverſion; becauſe he perſonates a Character different from his own. The Spectators, who are deceived by him, deſerve to be laughed at more than the Deceiver. I am better entertained at the Sight of a young *Portugueze*, with his Spectacles; becauſe here I ſee a Boy affecting the old Man. If a borrowed Gravity ſuit not the Actor, it becomes truly ridiculous.

Ridiculous Gravity.

An aſſumed Gravity may indeed, for a time, procure the Reputation of Senſe; as a Beggar in Brocade, may paſs for a rich Man. A reſerved Behaviour, ariſing from Ignorance, often paſſes for Wiſdom: as many by a ſtupid Silence, have paſſed for Learned. In the Account of *Moliere's* Life, we find, that as he once croſſed the *Seine*, along with his Company of Comedians; a learned Debate aroſe among the principal Actors. In the Heat of the Diſpute, they frequently appealed to a Monk, who happened to be in the Boat. The Monk had a venerable Aſpect; and held his Tongue: whence they thought, that by nodding his Head, and wrinkling his Brow, he either approved or diſapproved of their Arguments. This reſerved Gravity ſo heightened their Opinion, that they looked upon him as too acute a Philoſopher, to engage in the Diſpute. Their Eſteem continued till the Boat landed; when they ſaw the Monk take up his Wallet, and throw it acroſs his Shoulders; by which they found he

was

was only a Lay-Brother, whose Office is that of a Carrier, to fetch in Provisions for the Cloister.

Pliny relates of *Regulus*, that he usually besmeared his Eyes with an Ointment, to make the People believe he was almost blind by Reading. And tho' this Imposition gained him great Reputation among the Herd, who attributed that Appearance of his Eyes, to hard Study; yet it procured him the Contempt of *Pliny*, and others who knew the Man.

When a Merry-Andrew adorns himself with a Cap and Bells, and a Fox's Tail, I acknowledge him a Fool: if he appears in the Habit of a Judge, I only think him a greater Fool: but a young Boy, who goes stooping along, with his Spectacles upon his Nose, is as ridiculous a Figure, as an old grey-headed Fellow riding a Broom-Stick. A Fool's Cap is not ridiculous upon a Fool's Head. An affected Gravity that covers Folly, is like a washed Shilling, that passes for a Guinea, till it comes to be tried. But Goldsmiths take no Metal till they have proved it; nor trust the Appearance, till they have touched the Substance. A silly Book in *Morocco*, is like a Fool well dressed; or an Ass in a Lion's Skin. *Gregory Nazianzen* relates this Fable. "The Birds contested the Choice of a King. "They all appeared finely adorned, upon the "Day of Election, except the Eagle, who came "in his natural Plumage; and was elected "unanimously, for being naturally adorned." Judges of Writing find some Authors too spruce and

and finical; ſmelling of Eſſence, and fruitleſs Labour, rather than dreſſing with decent Care.

Congreſſes The moſt ſplendid Appearances in the World, may appear ridiculous to Philoſophical Eyes. A general Aſſembly of the States of a Country appears with great Dignity and Honour. Kingdoms and Republics ſend Miniſters and Plenipotentiaries to a Congreſs; for which whole Years are ſometimes ſpent, in preparing. The wiſeſt and propereſt Perſonages are ſelected, inſtructed, and equipped for this Purpoſe. By the external Appearance of Things, Men might hence expect the World to be rectified, States new moulded, and human Nature reformed. Yet, the Matters treated at theſe Auguſt Aſſemblies, are often ſuch as Philoſophers think below their Notice: for, theſe Grandees ſometimes diſpute which Ambaſſador ſhall pay another the firſt Viſit; how many Paces the one ſhall meet the other; whether a Title ſhall be wrote with Abbreviations, or at full Length; whether the Credentials ſhould be upon Paper or Parchment, &c. and ſuch Matters ſhall here be carried on with ſo much Heat, that many a Congreſs has thus been embroiled, driven from the principal Deſign of their Meeting, and ended in a Rupture. *Diogenes* obſerving that the Inhabitants of *Athens*, treated Trifles with Gravity; rolled his Tub about the Streets; to ſhew them his Thoughts of their Behaviour.

General Councils. The World has frequently been honoured with Councils, and Aſſemblies of Divines, in different Quarters of Chriſtendom. Prelates, Biſhops,

Biſhops, Abbots, have flocked together, from all the Corners of *Europe*, to deliberate and conſult about the Welfare of the Pious, and the Intereſt of Religion. What can have a more awfull Appearance, a more pleaſing Proſpect than this? What can raiſe a greater Veneration in the Minds of Men, than to ſee the Guardian Angels of the States of Chriſtendom thus aſſembled together? But when we conſider what Matters have often been treated in theſe ſolemn Aſſemblies; that, ſetting Devotion aſide, the Debates have turned upon the Habits and Beards of Churchmen; the proper Days for eating of Fleſh, Fiſh and Eggs; the Order or Rank of the Churches; the Titles of Biſhops, &c. our Veneration turns to Pity: becauſe ſuch Ceremonies ſeem to Philoſophers fitter for an Aſſembly of Ladies, than for holy Prelates and Paſtors.

What can be conducted with greater Pomp and Solemnity, than Proceſſions in Catholic Countries? Upon coming into a Catholic City, you will often find the Houſes illuminated; the Streets lined with Tapeſtry; a holy Reverence painted on every Face; the Bells ringing; and the whole Body of the Clergy walking in meaſured Steps, to the Sound of Muſic, thro' the Streets. The gaping Crowd, moved at this grand Appearance, falls upon the Knee, or devoutly kiſſes the Ground. Now, who could imagine that ſuch a ſolemn Act as this ſhould only denote ſome unknown Bone, Relick, &c. thus carried about in ſolemn State? Biſhop *Burnet* relates that "Whilſt the Romiſh Clergy Proceſſions.

"in

" in *London* were preparing for a Proceſſion,
" with the conſecrated Wafer; ſome jocoſe Pro-
" teſtants ſlipt unobſerved to the Hoſt-Coffer,
" and took away the Wafer. The Proceſſion
" went on with the uſual Solemnity: but when
" ended, the Prieſts coming to open the Coffer,
" found that, inſtead of the Wafer, they had
" been devoutly carrying an empty Cheſt."
It is eaſy to gueſs what kind of Criticiſm this Proceſſion underwent; eſpecially, when this Paſſage was ſung upon the Occaſion: *Surrexit*; *non eſt hic.*

Commencements. Solemn Univerſity-Acts, and Proceſſions, are of the like kind. Here we ſee the utmoſt that *Minerva*, *Apollo*, and the Muſes can produce. Here the *Rector Magnificus*, attended with the four Faculties, and reſpective Officers, walk in State; and, wherever we caſt our Eyes, ſome Object preſents itſelf, to tell us that the Act is weighty, grave, and ſolemn. The Spectators, who judge from Appearance, grow big with Expectation of ſomething more extraordinary; but are quickly damped, upon hearing Diſputes upon abſtract Subjects, antiquated Cuſtoms, and dead Languages.

Writings. We frequently ſee Books publiſhed with pompous Titles, elegant Copper-Plates, a neat Character, and all the Decorations that can help to raiſe a high Opinion of the Contents. And, when we are given to underſtand, that a Work has coſt more Time in compiling, than *Alexander* took to conquer the World; who would not expect a Maſterpiece? Yet many a pompous Book

Book has nothing ſo deſpicable about it as the Contents.

When a Thing has no Utility, let Men dreſs it out with what pompous Names, honourable Titles, or great Preparations they pleaſe, it is no better than a Farce. We muſt not judge of Things by their Shew; but weigh their Subſtance and Uſe. A Man who lives in a magnificent Houſe, is not always rich; nor every Gentleman learned who poſſeſſes a fine Library. The ſober Look is not always wiſe. He who truſts to Appearance will often be cheated. Men to be new moulded, muſt undergo *Medeas's* Operation; the whole Body muſt be ſoftened, the old Juices evacuated, and new put in. Without a Metaphor, Governors muſt direct the Operation; go radically and prudently to work, and ſhew the Univerſities and reformed Clergy of *Europe*, how to perform their reſpective Parts; by rightly inſtructing the People in ſolid Principles, and practical Rules of Manners, ſuited to Men's different Stations and Offices of Life; illuſtrating the Practice thereof by Example: for Man naturally follows his Leaders; eſpecially when he has a good Opinion of their Abilities and Sincerity.

Things to be judged of by their Uſe,

Of

III.

Of Decency and Faſhion.

Decency what.

MEN commonly call that decent, which agrees with the Mode, or Cuſtom, prevailing in their own Country; and that indecent which diſagrees with the Mode. The *Lacedemonians* diſcountenanced ſome of the Sciences, particularly Muſic, which the reſt of *Greece* held in Eſteem. *Epaminondas* was a great Performer in Muſic; but when an Inſtrument was offered to *Themiſtocles*, at a Feaſt, requeſting him to play; he either being unable, or unwilling, refuſed; whence the Company took him for very unaccompliſhed, or highly uncivil.

May be directed.

The governing Powers of a Country may order, in Matters of Indifference, what ſhall, and what ſhall not be accounted decent. As ſoon as the *Romans* were permitted to wear Silk; their former Notion of Indecency in wearing it, vaniſhed. Uncuſtomary Things are vulgarly thought to be naturally indecent; and many Things appear to be natural, merely from Cuſtom or Faſhion. When the ſhaving of the Clergy was firſt propoſed, in the Northern Countries, the Attempt appeared, in the Public Eye, contrary both to Religion and Morality: but, after the Cuſtom was once introduced; not only the inferior Clergy, but even the Biſhops were ſhaved, without the leaſt Offence to the People.

And

And as we generally call uncuſtomary Things indecent; ſo we frequently look upon Vices as innocent, or becoming, when once they grow faſhionable. Drunkenneſs has been eſteemed a kind of heroical Virtue, when People of Rank ſpent their Nights in Riot and Debauch; yet there is no Sin more indecent or odious than this.

Innocent Diverſions.

They who hold immoderate Drinking decent, yet rail againſt Sports, are like Soldiers that give up a City to defend a Fortreſs. Some exclaim againſt Dancing, Plays, Cards, and other innocent Diverſions, as indecent and ſinful. But theſe Men ought to know that ſuch Cenſures are too bold; and that neither the Clergy, nor even the Popes of *Rome* venture ſo far. Raſh Deciſions of the Ignorant may affect Morality itſelf, when Cenſure is weakly grounded upon private Fancy, or Cuſtom; which cannot decide any Point of Morality: becauſe Men here argue from a Mixture of foreign and heterogeneous Notions, no way eſſential to the Subject.

Cicero's Judgment is, that "Men may uſe "Recreations and Diverſions, provided it be "done with Moderation:" *Cantu, fidibus, tibiis uti licet; dummodo ea moderata ſint.* The great *Scipio* was not aſhamed to dance. *Scipio triumphale illud, ac militare Corpus, movit ad numeros. Sempronia* indeed was cenſured, not for dancing, but for dancing too well *Semproniam reprehendit, non quòd ſaltaret, ſed quòd optimè ſaltaret.* And in this View it was, that *Philip* of *Macedon* ſaid to his Son, "Are you not aſhamed to ſing ſo "well?" not thereby condemning Singing, but the

the too great Pains which *Alexander* had beſtowed upon Muſic. Doubtleſs it is as abſurd to forbid the Uſe of innocent Things, as to command it: yet this has been done; particularly under *James* the Firſt: for, that King obſerving the Puritans ſtifly condemned Paſtimes, ordered all his Subjects, at certain Hours of the *Sunday*, ſhould ſport and play; with a Penalty annexed, that thoſe who did not, ſhould be looked upon as bad Chriſtians.

Different Cuſtoms of Countries.

What in one Country is called Gravity, we find called Pride in another. What we call Liberty, might in other Nations paſs for Ferocity; and what certain Countries call Modeſty, others call want of Breeding. *Lobo*, in his *Abyſſinian* Travels, relates, that foreign Ambaſſadors, upon having their firſt Audience, in a certain Country of *Africa*, are beaten with Sticks, by the Courtiers in waiting, as a Mark of Reſpect and Civility. This would not be thought polite in the Courts of *Europe*. But every Country has its Cuſtoms, as every Man has his Humour. To ſalute a young Lady in *Spain*, is as heinouſly looked upon, as violating her. But what thus enrages a *Spaniard*, is no more than Civility in *France* or *England*. It was formerly a Cuſtom with young Ladies to tremble, ſqueal out, and even to faint away, upon barely hearing the Name of a Man mentioned, becauſe this was then reckoned a Token of Modeſty; but as we now draw no ſuch Concluſion from theſe Premiſes, the Cuſtom is left off.

Great

Great Names have contributed to render Cuſtoms venerable. It was a ſufficient Sanction to an ancient *Greek* or *Roman*, if a Philoſopher of his own Sect had delivered an Opinion upon the Caſe. The like Weakneſs has prevailed among Chriſtians, with regard to the Fathers; whoſe Opinions have been looked upon as Oracles; tho' we diſcover various Errors in their Morality. *Clemens Alexandrinus* holds the eating of white Bread unlawful; forbids Muſic and Singing; declares that the wearing of different coloured Cloaths is a Sign of Falſhood; &c. *Lactantius* condemns all going to War, even for Self-Defence; and does not allow of putting out Money to Intereſt. St. *Chryſoſtom* exhorts Wives to follow the Example of *Sarah*, who gave herſelf up to the Uſe of the Barbarians in order to preſerve her Huſband. The Sanction of great Names.

It is the Duty of a Philoſopher, not only to combat Vice, but likewiſe ſuch Follies and Foibles as render Mankind contemptible: eſpecially ſince Experience ſhews, that Levities go nearer to the Heart of Man, than weighty Matters; and that Trifles have given Occaſion to the moſt violent Contentions. What Alarms were formerly rung upon Trifles! How did Men thunder againſt the high Head-Dreſſes of the Ladies? They compared theſe Heads to the Horns of the Devil, and held the Dreſs to be ſinful; as if God had directed what Dreſs the Ladies ſhould wear; or as if the Devil's Horns had been clearly proved upon him. It is well known, what a terrible War was formerly raiſed by the Monks, about Great Effects of Trifles.

the Shape of their Cowls or Hoods; whence the *French* called it, *La Guerre des Capuchons*. The *Chineſe* ſubmitted to all the Hardſhips laid upon them by the *Tartars*; but when it came to the cutting off their Hair, they rather choſe to loſe their Lives. What Diſturbances have been occaſioned by the ſimple Queſtion, "which was "better, to croſs themſelves with two Fingers, "or three?" To break Wind in Company, ſtands recorded as a moſt ignominious Crime amongſt the *Arabians*; inſomuch that they reckoned their Æra from ſuch an Accident. The ſame Thing was held, by the *Japoneſe*, ſtill more heinous: for the Hiſtory of *Japan* ſhews, that ſuch a Misfortune once happening to a young Court-Lady, as ſhe was carrying a Pan of Fire-Coals; ſhe took a live Coal out of the Pan, and ſwallowed it; being ſo highly aſhamed, as not to endure Life after the Diſaſter. The erecting of a Monument at *Jeruſalem*, to the Honour of the Emperor, whilſt the *Romans* had Poſſeſſion of the City, threw the *Jews* into ſuch an Uproar, that they commited Murder even in the Temple. Sectariſts have had the hotteſt Diſputes about the Uſe of Buckles, and Shoe-Strings; as if Men honoured God more by the one than the other.

Since Mankind are ſo zealous about Trifles; and ſince Things of the ſlighteſt Nature go cloſeſt to the Heart; we need no longer wonder, that weighty Matters remain neglected; and Men commit ſuch Sins, as they cannot bear to have known

known or mentioned. *Olympia*, Mother of *Alexander* the Great, was no *Lucretia*; yet near her Death, ſhe had ſuch a Regard to Decency, that ſhe covered her Face with her Hair, and her Legs with her Cloaths, that no Part of her Body might appear naked. Modeſty was not reckoned among *Cæſar's* Virtues; yet when he ſaw himſelf falling by the Hands of his Murderers, he, likewiſe, wrapt up his Face in his Mantle with one Hand, and his Legs with the other; that he might die with the greater Decorum.

We muſt not judge of Men by their Carriage, or Cloathing. It is Wiſdom to comply with the indifferent Faſhions of one's Country; how ſtrange ſoever they may be. But a wiſe Man will neither appear the firſt nor the laſt in the Mode: it is a Rule with him, to eat after his own Taſte, but to dreſs after the Taſte of others.

A Letter to an unfaſhionable Gentleman.

WHY has my Friend taken it into his Head to nouriſh his Beard, at a Time when all the World goes ſhaved? Why wilt thou thus render thyſelf ridiculous; and give thine Enemies the Handle of joking upon thee? They ſay, thou goeſt bearded, on purpoſe to be like no body. Thou ſayeſt, it is glorious to tread in the venerable Steps of our Forefathers; who loved their Beards as their Lives. But, I fear, thou haſt not ſufficiently conſidered what true Glory is.

To cloath one's ſelf like other People is decent; and to wear ſuch Garments as no body elſe wears is indecent. It is ridiculous to diſtinguiſh one's ſelf by Faſhions out of Date; for, Things that were formerly ornamental, are at preſent unſightly. It was once a decent Cuſtom to wear Ruffs about the Neck; which are now worn by none but Scaramoutch. He who begins a Faſhion is not wiſe; and he who will never change one is no wiſer. It is philoſophical to follow the innocent Faſhions of one's Country. If a Fool's Cap were faſhionable; he would be a Fool that did not wear one. Indecency does not conſiſt in the Cloaths, but in their Singularity. If a Clergyman ſhould now perform his Office, dreſſed like a Layman, it would appear ſhocking; not upon account of the Cloaths, which are common, but the Novelty of the Thing: yet the primitive Clergy were not diſtinguiſhed by their Dreſs from the Laity. In Pictures, indeed, we ſee Paſtors of the ancient Churches painted in Canonicals; but we muſt no more form our Notions of their Cloathing from thence, than of *Pontius Pilate's* Dreſs, when we ſee him painted in a Cardinal's Cap; nor of the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, with a *Weſtphalia* Ham upon the Table.

A wiſe old Man, being aſked why he danced, replied, "becauſe the whole City dances." When my Taylor aſks me how I would have my Cloaths made? I tell him after the Faſhion; and think myſelf wiſer for this, than by ordering him to cut my Coat to my own Fancy. For thus I ſhew an Indifference in an indifferent Thing;

Thing; a Deference to the general Practice; and a Deſire that my Cloaths ſhould pleaſe others rather than myſelf. I know that Philoſophers are reckoned to be Pleaſers of themſelves, rather than of others; but the Vulgar are apt to confound Philoſophy with Poſitiveneſs and Caprice. He who will needs diſtinguiſh himſelf from others, by his Dreſs and Manner of Converſing, manifeſts Pride more than Humility, and Obſtinacy more than Underſtanding. *Diogenes* ſeeing a *Rhodian* in a ſplendid Equipage, cried, "That is Pride:" and ſoon after, ſeeing a *Lacedemonian* in a coarſe Coat, cried out, "That "alſo is Pride." If it were the Mode to wear a Fox's Tail behind, I ſhould not ſcruple to follow the Faſhion, and appear like the reſt. The Saying, that "a wiſe Man muſt diſtinguiſh "himſelf from the Vulgar, by living, not ac- "cording to Cuſtom, but Reaſon;" does not hold true of ſuch indifferent Things as Dreſs: for, to diſtinguiſh ourſelves in theſe Things is Folly. The renowned Mr. *Klim*, finding himſelf taken for a Monſter, in *Martinia*, becauſe he had no Tail, preſently accommodated himſelf to the Mode of the Country, and avoided farther Cenſure.

The ſame Advice I give to my Friend: ſhave thy Beard, and appear like a Man: for, the Faſhion of Beards is no longer among Mankind; and only retained among Goats. Thy Beard is an open Declaration that thou art unwilling to paſs for a Man, and hadſt rather paſs for a Goat. But the worſt is, that with all thy Precaution,

the Goats will not receive thee; for, tho' thou haſt a Beard, thou haſt no Horns; ſo that thou wilt appear a Monſter, both to Goats and Men. I ſhall give thee no Reſt, till thou doſt aboliſh thy moſt unmanly Ornament: for, as Nations at War will ſeldom make Peace, but on Condition of having ſome annoying Fortreſs demoliſhed; ſo will I never make Peace with thee, till thy Beard is razed and levelled with thy Chin.

III.

Of gaining a Character.

Equal Virtues differently rewarded.

VIRTUES may be practiſed in an equal Degree, yet appear in different Lights. Slender Virtues may be highly eſteemed; becauſe they appear in certain Places, or before certain Perſons. Some Men exerciſe high Virtues in Obſcurity; as living in the Country, or among low People. I knew a worthy Country-Gentleman painted at Court in the blackeſt Colours; who at the ſame time was extremely beloved in his own Country. Upon expreſſing my Concern at this, the Gentleman replied: "The "Country-People, who are friendly to me, "have no Correſpondence at Court; and there- "fore my Reputation reaches no farther than "my Pariſh: whereas ſome potent Perſons, "againſt whom I defend the common People, "are

Characters, how procured.

" are intimate with Principals at the Capital." And indeed I have frequently remarked, that others, by purſuing the ſame Method, meet with the ſame Fate: as, on the other hand, I find many who are generally hated in their own Country, paſs for Angels at the Capital.

It may, therefore, be taken as a Rule, that whoever would procure himſelf a Name in the great World, ſhould endeavour to make his Virtues flow in certain Canals, which may carry them to the Place, where their Fruit is to be reaped. For, the Friendſhip of one Peer often produces greater Effects, than the Love of a hundred Commoners: as a ſingle Knight, or Caſtle, at Cheſs, ſhall have more Efficacy in the Game, than all the Pawns. The Children of this World have a ſteady Eye to the Rule, and find their Account in it. A certain Country Juſtice ſpoke to the Point: " Since the Preſi-" dent is my Friend; what care I for the Cor-" poration?" For, the Preſident correſponded with the higher Powers. And, upon this Obſervation is founded the Monkiſh Maxim: *Fac Officium taliter qualiter; & ſta benè cum Domino Priore.* " Do your Duty as you may; but " keep well with the Lord Abbot."

We can no more depend upon the Character a Man bears in ſome Places, than upon the Accounts of public Tranſactions in the common News-Papers. Many a News-Paper Battle dwindles into a Skirmiſh, and many a Victory into a Defeat. If we would really enquire into a Man's Character, we ſhould reſort to the Place

of his Abode, and there procure a juſt Information, not from his Superiors, on the Spot, but from his Neighbours of equal Rank; with whom he has lived in his own natural Manner. Many Princes have diſguized themſelves, and mixed with the common People, on purpoſe to procure a juſt and full Intelligence of particular Perſons and Things. The true, natural Character of a Man being only to be had from his Equals; Governors ſeldom know more of him than Reports brought them either by ignorant or ſelf-intereſted People. The Great are often deceived by Appearance, and perſonated Character; ſo as to ſee People in a Light very different from the true one. Every Candidate is virtuous and obſequious, ready and obliging, in the Preſence of his Patron; like a Lover in the Preſence of his Miſtreſs; or like the young Lady herſelf, who, before Matrimony, is all Perfection. I judge this a neceſſary Intimation to Governors, and Patrons. Daily Experience ſhews how wretchedly we are impoſed upon by the Atteſtations of People, authoriſed to characterize another Man's Virtues or Abilities; and that we can only have a Man's true Character, from thoſe with whom he lives free and unreſerved. This Rule is ſo neglected, that many among the Vulgar, undauntedly perſiſt in Vice; becauſe they aſſure themſelves it will not hinder their Promotion, if they can but ſecure the Friendſhip of the Great. Whoever, therefore, propoſes to raiſe himſelf a Name, and become conſiderable, may follow the Monkiſh Rule above-

above-mentioned; and ſtand well with the Abbot.

With Regard to the having a Man's Character, it may be ſuppoſed ſafer truſting to one or two intelligent Perſons, than to a Cloud of vulgar Witneſſes; who frequently, thro' Error, confound Virtues and Vices; and turn enormous Crimes into heroical Actions. And I do not recommend truſting to the Judgment of the Vulgar; but the gaining of ſuch an hiſtorical Account, as by due Enquiry, we find to be real or ſufficiently exact to form a Judgment upon. If the queſtioned People ſhould ſay, that ſuch an one is a virtuous Man, I am not to reſt here, but enquire farther, to diſcover whether the Character be juſtly given. If a Corporation praiſe its Magiſtrate, or a Country Pariſh its Paſtor, I aſk the Reaſon why; and if I find that the Praiſe of the Magiſtrate ariſes from his Remiſſneſs or Neglect of Duty, which my Informers miſtake for Good-Nature and Honeſty; or that the Praiſe of the Prieſt ariſes from his being jolly and loving his Glaſs; I have thus obtained ſufficient Information: tho', from the ſame Premiſes, my Informers and I draw different Concluſions.

Governors cannot ſafely rely upon the Teſtimony of their Dependants: becauſe the Information may come from ſuch Perſons in Office, as either draw falſe Characters ignorantly, or with a View to their own Intereſt. Many a Steward will give an Atteſtation of Honeſty, for the ſake of a Gratuity; and many a Maſter will give

Hard for Rulers to know Men.

give his looſe Servant a good Character, in order to get rid of him.

Others ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by external Behaviour; becauſe they ſee People maſked. It is therefore certain, that whoever would have a Man's true Character, muſt ſeek it among that Man's Companions and Equals; becauſe all other Witneſſes are fallacious and incompetent. But till this Rule is better followed, I abide by my foregoing Advice; and repeat, that if a Man deſire to acquire a Name, and to riſe in Life, let him cultivate the Friendſhip of the Great: but if he had rather have a good Conſcience, than a glaring Character; let him deal well by the common People, ſupport or employ the Neceſſitous, patronize the Weak, and help the Diſtreſſed.

IV.

Of Idleneſs and Buſineſs.

Idleneſs and Buſineſs.

PART of our Lives is ſpent in doing Miſchief; a greater Part in doing nothing; almoſt the whole unprofitably; and yet we complain for want of Time. All Men agree, that much of our Lives is ſpent in doing wrong; and acting idly: I will, therefore, only ſpeak of ſuch Perſons as buſy themſelves to little Purpoſe. And ſince Triflers are apt to look upon themſelves as uſeful Members of Society, tho' no Fruit

Fruit ariſes from their Stir; it becomes neceſſary to advertiſe theſe Buſy-Bodies of the Difference there is betwixt uſeful Labour, and uſeleſs Buſtling; in order, if poſſible, to make them reflect, that they might often do more, if they would pleaſe to do leſs.

Many raiſe needleſs Difficulties, for the ſake of ſolving them; as Children knit Knots on purpoſe to untye them; or build Card-Houſes to throw them down again. This is not Buſineſs. If a Man ſhould riſe to ſpeak in public, turn himſelf firſt to the Right, then to the Left; diſplay his Hands; practiſe the Geſtures of Orators; and only repeat a hundred Times over, "I "beg to be heard;" this would be Action and Labour; but fruitleſs and frantic. Strange as this Image appears; wherever we turn our Eyes, we may readily obſerve Things of the like frivolous, fruitleſs Nature.

The buſieſt People uſually perform the leaſt Work. On the other hand, thoſe often tranſact the weightieſt Affairs, who make the leaſt Buſtle. Rowers take Pains, beſtir themſelves, and make a great Clatter; whilſt the Steerſman ſits quiet, and ſilently conducts the Boat. A Buſy-Body reſembles a managed Horſe in his Exerciſe; that capers, and curvets, and prances, and fidles, till he is all of a Foam, before he gets the Length of a Street.

Idle Authors.

The World abounds with ſuch Multitudes of Books, that the bare Catalogues of them might be thought Monuments of Induſtry; eſpecially in the

the preſent Age, when almoſt every Man is an Author; and the Trade of inſtructing the World by Writing, got down to the Peaſant and the Profligate. Such immenſe Treaſures of Writings might raiſe a great Idea of the Labour, and Ingenuity of Authors; who may all be looked upon as Volunteers, generouſly ſerving the Public. But, if theſe Books, be tried by the intellectual Balance; we ſhall find them extreamly light, in proportion to their Bulk. Corn may be thick ſown, and the Crop prove ſlender. One Sterling Line may be beat out into Pages. If twenty Authors copy a Book; it makes one and twenty. We may ſay of the modern Writers, as the Ancients did of the Works of *Chryſippus* that "if they were ſifted from Piracies, little "would remain in the Sieve." We have not near ſo many new Books as new Title-Pages. Authors frequently make the Public a Preſent of ſtolen Goods, diſguiſed, to prevent Diſcovery.

Triflers. Some Authors ſtuff their Books with uſeleſs Curioſities; and deſerve Cenſure, for filling their own Heads with Trumpery, and ſhewing Addreſs in Inſignificancy. *Aniceris* once gave a public Specimen of his Dexterity, by driving a Carriage along ſtrait Lines, to the Aſtoniſhment of the Beholders; but, *Plato* ſhook his Head, and cried, "This Man can have done nothing "uſeful, who has ſpent ſo much Time upon "Trifles." Another ſhewed his Dexterity of Hand before *Alexander* the Great, by throwing a Heap of Peaſe, ſingly, thro' the Eye of a Bodkin, without miſſing once. The Man expected a great

a great Reward: *Alexander* ordered him a Preſent of Peaſe, that he might not want Balls for his Bauble. One boaſting before *Diogenes* of having won the Prize at the Courſe; *Diogenes* told him, "A Deer could run much faſter; "yet was but a timorous Creature." The ſame *Diogenes*, to ſhew the Folly of crowning the Victors, at Wreſtling, Racing, and Boxing; once crowned a Horſe that had kicked and beat another Horſe out of the Field. This Philoſopher called Conquerors Cowards, who durſt not encounter Avarice, Pride, and Vanity, which are the great Enemies of Mankind.

Uſeful Things frequently require more Labour in the Production, than Matters of Moment; whence the Poet aptly calls them *difficiles Nugæ* "laborious Trifles." A Lady's Head-Dreſs is a Thing of ſmall Importance; but how much Time, Labour, and Skill, is miſpent in making a dreſſed Head? "*Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur Annus eſt.*" Whilſt the Ladies, with all their Apparatus at hand, are dreſſing for a Ball, a Play might be acted, or a Cauſe decided at Law. Uſeleſs Labour.

We have many Examples of Authors, who impair both their Health and Underſtanding, in illuſtrating ſuch Points, as no ſenſible Man would deſire to know. Enquiries about the Neckcloths, Shoes, Boots, Hats, Bracelets, Armour, &c. of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, have filled numerous Volumes. Learned Men have procured great Reputation, by very inſignificant Labours. *Columbus* cannot be more famous, than a Man who deſcribes the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; the

the bare Attempts to which, have coſt as much Pains as the Diſcovery of *America*; tho' it is as hard to ſee the Uſefulneſs of ſuch a Deſcription, as difficult to make it. But this ſerves to ſhew what Men might do, were they in Earneſt to diſcover new Arts; and not beſtow their Time in examining old Walls and Altar-Pieces, Pillars and Doors, or determining whether a Curtain hung in the Eaſt or Weſt of a Temple.

The polite Arts. There are indeed certain Works, which tho' in themſelves difficult and coſtly, yet prove a proper Employment, and noble Entertainment for the Wealthy. Fine Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Muſic, Poetry, &c. are polite, ingenious, and curious Arts, that delight Mankind, and adorn a Country. In this Claſs I likewiſe reckon all agreeable kinds of Writing, that chear and revive the Spirits, without debaſing our Nature: and, by the reading of ſuch Writings, I have frequently found more effectual Phyſic, than that the Doctors deal in.

Too curious Books. But immenſe Number of Books are publiſhed, ſerving neither to Uſe, Ornament, or Recreation; as they neither inſtruct nor pleaſe. Such Books are like nauſeous Phyſic; which we ſwallow againſt our Will, and yet receive no Benefit from it. The moſt aſtoniſhing Part is, that learned Men ſhould publiſh Comments upon Things, before they know whether the Things exiſt; as Baſiliſks, Dragons, the Phœnix, Witches, Conjurers, Apparitions, &c. Some Men excruciate themſelves about ſuch Points of Chronology, as are dark and unſearchable.

Others

Others diſpute about the Actions of a Perſon, whilſt it is not known there ever was ſuch a Perſon in the World. Many plunge into Metaphyſics, or endeavour to explain the Nature and Properties of Spirits, and incorporeal Subſtances, which no body has any Idea of. And with this refined Rubbiſh, all Libraries are loaded. Such Works are like Cob-Webs, and their Authors like Spiders; who ſpin themſelves to Skeletons, and leave their enſnaring Productions behind them.

Multitude of unneceſſary Writings.

We need only peruſe the Extracts of Books yearly publiſhed, and even of thoſe commonly eſteemed the beſt, to convince us, that many a huge Volume might, by careful Correction, be reduced to a Pamphlet. Many a bulky Book is like a young Lady, who at her Toilet appears ſo ſlim and ſlender, as if ſhe could ſlip thro' every Chink in the Houſe; but when full dreſſed, in her ſwelling Hoop, requires the whole Street to walk in; ſo that People might wonder how ſhe came out of her Door. Anciently the World laboured under a Want of Books, whence Authors were prompted to write; but as, at preſent, we ſuper-abound with Writings, it might be proper to diminiſh their Number, by appointing Cenſors, to obſerve whether a Book be a Copy or an Original, and contain uſeful or uſeleſs Matter. The learned Mr. *Klim* aſſures us, that in the Principality of *Potu*, no body was permitted to publiſh a Book, till his Age and Capacity gave Reaſon to expect he would not produce a Monſter. The *Lacedemonians*

demonians allowed no lame Men to cohabit with their Wives; for fear of filling the Country with Cripples. Certain Writers ſhould be debarred the Uſe of Pen and Ink; leſt by ſtaining of Paper, they ſtain Mens Minds. Another Regulation in *Potu* is, the appointing of certain Judges, yearly to examine the Bookſellers Shops, and take Care that no abortive Books ſlip into the Country; and weed the Shops as Gardeners weed their Ground. He who regards his Health, avoids pernicious Aliments: we ſhould take equal Care of the Mind, and not ſuffer it to be corrupted by the Reading of pernicious Books. The like Judgment may be extended to many other Things beſides Books; for Men's real Works are not ſo great or numerous as they appear.

The right Uſe of Time.

Thoſe who want Time, may have it, if they will uſe it. In *Klim's* Subterraneous Voyage, a Nation is repreſented paſſing ten Hours of the four and twenty, in Sleep; and yet performing more Buſineſs than another that continually laboured, without Sleeping. The former found Time ſufficient, becauſe they did nothing unneceſſary; and the latter wanted Time, becauſe they performed more than was needful. We frequently hear ſauntering People complain of wanting Time; and may pity them as much as we do thoſe idle Sailors, who keep tacking and plying about at Sea, when they might ſail, right before the Wind, into Harbour.

Public Buſineſs to be ſhortened.

It is to be wiſhed that proper Overſeers were appointed to inſpect all public Buſineſs; becauſe un-

unneceſſary Things are ſo multiplied in great Cities, and run out to ſuch Lengths, that the Body-Politic ſuffers as much under them, as the natural Body does from Redundancy of Humours. This Evil might, in part, be cured, by proper Examiners of Books; and partly by Judges in Courts of Law. The Examiners ſhould ſift all Books before they are printed, in order to ſeparate the good Parts from the bad, the neceſſary from the unneceſſary; ſo that the Public ſhould have only the Metal, and Authors retain the Droſs for themſelves.

The Judges in Court might reſtrain Lawyers from running out in their Pleadings, and make the Council ſpeak to the Point. Or, the Time of Pleading might be regulated on both Sides, by the Hour-Glaſs; according to the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Cuſtom. To convince any ſenſible Man what Neceſſity there is for ſome ſuch Regulation, he need only attend a common Court of Juſtice, ſo long as to hear two or three Witneſſes examined; and obſerve how many pertinent Queſtions are aſked.

In the dilatory Proceedings of Law much Time is waſted, the Judge tormented, and the Parties run to unneceſſary Charges. In Opinions, Settlements, Contracts, Agreements, and other public Inſtruments of Buſineſs; we commonly find, that Preamble and Repetition make three Fourths of the Whole.

Sermons and Speeches might for the moſt Part be ſhortened to great Advantage. Nothing is more irkſom than Prolixity; nothing more tireſom than

Conciſeneſs recommended.

diffuſive Authors, or loquacious Orators, dealing out drowſy Periods. It was formerly a Cuſtom in *Ruſſia* to chuſe him for their Prieſt, who could oftener, in one Breath, repeat "*Hoſpodi Pomiglio*:" i. e. "Lord have Mercy upon us." If I was to chuſe an Orator, he ſhould neither fatigue himſelf, nor his Hearers, by holding his Wind too long. Conciſeneſs is a Virtue. Prolixity confounds the Mind, and waſtes good Time. Life is only ſhort to Triflers. *Seneca* ſays well, "Moſt Men complain that Nature has made "Life ſhort; but the Truth is, we do not "rightly employ our Lives. Riches ſoon va-"niſh in ſquandering Hands; whilſt a moderate "Eſtate is improved by Frugality. Our Lives "are lengthened by being well filled up: and "an uſeful Life is a long one."

V.

Of Taſte.

Power of Taſte.

THO' Taſte, in the Abſtract, may appear but a trivial Thing; yet whoever examines Hiſtory and Mankind, will find it a main Spring of Buſineſs and Action. The Regulation of Taſte might prove a powerful Engine, in the Hands of Governors, to bring about deſirable Ends; and render a People induſtrious, virtuous, and happy.

Taſte in Children.

Children may help us to form a right Judgment of Taſte. We ſee they generally delight in

in Milk and Fruits, which Nature ſupplies in Plenty: whence it may be inferred, there is a native Agreeableneſs in ſuch Things. Grown People are not here ſuch competent Judges; being ſo debauched by Cuſtom, Faſhion, and Fancy, as rather to eſteem Things according to acquired Prejudice and Habit, than according to natural Goodneſs. The Scarcity and Price of Things often make us deſpiſe what Nature, in Kindneſs, has marked for Good, and produced in Abundance. We acquire an Averſion to Things obtainable with Eaſe, or ſmall Expence; and cultivate a Liking, or Fondneſs, for worſe, that are dear, and obtained with Difficulty. What has made Tea more agreeable than Milk, but the Difference of Price; which renders the one more faſhionable than the other? Vegetable Productions of *China*, and the Eaſt, taſte finer for the long Voyage it coſts to fetch them. Men generally fancy dear Things muſt be good.

How debauched.

By Fancy.

Elegant Tables are covered with Diſhes, to which a Man muſt be accuſtomed, before he can find them pleaſing; whilſt the Farmer's Eating is naturally agreeable, cheap, and neceſſary. If the Experiment be made with a Child, before his Taſte is debauched, he will prefer the Farmer's Diet to the Nobleman's. The Palate of the Rich is depraved by acquired Habits, and Faſhions. It happens in Eating and Drinking, as in Dreſs and Behaviour. If a Prince was to walk upon Stilts, his Courtiers would follow him; and maintain the Practice to be genteel and rational. We can accommodate ourſelves to the

Uſe of bad-taſted Things, and troubleſome Habits, in order to be diſtinguiſhed from the Vulgar. Cuſtom turns to a kind of Nature; and makes Things pleaſant, that at firſt were diſagreeable.

Tobacco is not naturally pleaſing; yet whole Nations are ſo fond of it, that they will not live without it. The great *Perſian* King, *Abbas*, once attempted to wean his Subjects from the Uſe of it, but in vain; they all declaring it was their Comfort. The King, upon this, invited ſome principal Perſons to a Collation of Tobacco; and had the Pipes filled with the dried Mundungus of Geeſe and Cows; pretending it to be an extraordinary Sort of Tobacco, ſent him as a Preſent. The Gueſts ſmoaked their Pipes, praiſed the Tobacco, and knew not the Compoſition till they were told.

Appetite raiſed by Difficulty.

The Taſte for Things that are naturally diſagreeable, may pleaſe for being procured with Difficulty. We ſlight fallen Fruit, and climb the Tree to pluck what is not ſo ripe. The forward Lady diſguſts her Admirer; whilſt an artful Virgin, affecting Coyneſs, excites the Appetite of her Lover, and ſecures her Conqueſt. *Anna Bullen* practiſed this Art with Succeſs; and could never have obtained her Wiſh, by behaving with leſs *Hauteur* to *Harry* the Eighth. Affected Indifference and Reluctance, paved her Way to the Crown. The inordinate Effects of Love are no where greater than in *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Eaſt*, where it is the Practice to lock up the Ladies; ſo that Men cannot get at them without

without Risk: but the Difficulty heightens the Relish. A thousand Stratagems are used to take such Forts as are well defended.

And Scarcity.

Cunning Merchants keep up the Price of their Goods, or render them difficult to come at, in order to excite the Appetite of the Buyer. And we need only make a Thing cheap, easy to get, or shew it in Plenty, to damp the Desire for it. Grocers therefore let their Boxes stand open to their Servants; and Vintners make their Drawers free of the Cellar. If Champaign were a common Wine, it would have fewer Admirers. Medals are coveted for their Scarcity; Pictures for their Rarity; and Books for being hard to come at.

Effects of Men's different Tastes.

But there is a great Variety of Tastes in the World; and this Variety keeps Numbers of People employed, who might otherwise remain idle, or hurt Society. We are apt to exclaim against bad Taste, tho' even ourselves, our Friends, and Relations, receive Advantages from it. Nature regulates all Things wisely; and perhaps more suitably to the State of Man, than we superficially imagine. If all Men were wise, Society could not well subsist. A Mixture of prudent and weak People hath an excellent Effect. Difference of Taste makes nothing remain useless in the World. All sorts of Arts, Business, Trades, and Traffic are hence promoted; and no one sort of Ware lies totally neglected. Some have a Taste for Sweet, others for Bitter, some for Slight, some for Srtong, some for Old, some for New, &c. whence a Merchant provided with Variety, need never want

Cuſtomers. "If there were no Fool's Heads, "no Fool's Caps would be ſold." And if there was no bad Taſte in the World, what would become of our numerous Authors, Bookſellers, and their Families? If a true Taſte for Writing ſhould grow into Faſhion, the preſent Tribe of Poets might well cry out, *O Tempora! O Mores!* If good Taſte was general, what would become of that immenſe Set of Bunglers in all the Profeſſions?

Effects of bad Taſte.

Bad Taſte ſuffers nothing to ſtagnate. It is a Comfort in Plenty, and a Spur to Induſtry; it enlivens Society, and promotes the Propagation of the Species. If all Men were delicate, many a young Lady might, like *Jeptha's* Daughter, bewail her Virginity: but, as ſome Men are fond of Youth, others of Antiquity, ſome of Beauty, others of Money, one of Black, another of Fair, &c. here is an open Market for Maids and Widows of all Sorts. What Numbers would go without Titles and Honours, if they had a true Taſte? Want of Taſte often compenſates for want of Senſe. If it were not for bad Taſte, how ſhould we come by ſuch excellent Schools, Univerſities, and Politicians, as *Europe* abounds with? To wiſh for an Univerſality of good Taſte, is wiſhing the Downfall of half Mankind.

Taſte and Knowledge to be improved.

To be more ſerious; till the Morals of Men can be farther improved, it may afford us ſome Conſolation to ſee Advantages ariſing from Depravity of Taſte; and that the more we know of the World, the leſs imperfect we find it upon the Whole. Suitable Proviſion is made for Man, let him act

as

as he pleaſes. Even our Infirmities are provided againſt. And this may diſpoſe us either to reſt contented with Things as we find them; or ſpur us on to mend our Condition. Doubtleſs, every Man who finds himſelf capable, in what Shape ſoever it be, ſhould add to the common Stock of Knowledge; and ſome Way or other promote the public Happineſs. The World ſeems put into our Hands, as *Eden* was into the Hands of our firſt Parents, to dreſs, cultivate, and improve it.

VI.

Of Friends and Enemies.

NO Virtue is more frequently mentioned, and leſs practiſed, than Friendſhip. Every Man imagines he has Friends; yet every Man may here find himſelf deceived. What we generally call Friendſhip is a ſpurious Virtue, that vaniſhes in Time of Trial. Adverſity is the Touchſtone of Friendſhip. King *Tarquin* declared it owing to his Misfortunes, and Baniſhment, that he ever diſcovered who were his Friends, or Enemies; becauſe he could then no longer oblige them. Such Obſervations have opened the Eyes of others, upon finding themſelves deſerted in Misfortunes by thoſe they eſteemed their faſteſt Friends. *Aulus Gellius* has preſerved to us an elegant Fable of *Æſop*, to this Purpoſe. Friends rare.

Fable of the Lark.

" A Lark, who had her Neſt in a Corn-Field, " going to ſeek Food for her Young, charged " them to obſerve carefully what they ſhould ſee " or hear, in her Abſence; and give her an Ac- " count of it at her Return. Whilſt ſhe was gone, " they over-heard the Owner of the Field order " his Son, as the Corn was now ripe, to deſire " their Friends to aſſiſt in reaping the next Day. " This the trembling young-ones related to " their Mother; and begged her to look out " for a Place, where they might be ſecure. " The old Lark was not terrified at the Account, " but bid her little Brood have Patience; ſaying, " if the Owner truſted to his Friends only, the " Field would not be reaped to-morrow. The " next Day ſhe left them again; with the ſame " Charge as before. The Owner of the Field " returned, in hopes of Reaping, but waited the " Arrival of his Friends, in vain; then ſaid to " his Son: I perceive our Friends are unwil- " ling to come; go therefore to our Relations, " and pray them to aſſiſt us in reaping to-mor- " row. This alſo the frighted Young related " to their Mother, who again bid them be com- " forted; for, ſays ſhe, it is as ſilly to truſt to " Relations as Friends; and therefore be aſſu- " red, the Corn will not be reaped to-morrow. " The Lark left her Brood the third time. The " Owner came again, and finding no Relations " appear, ſaid to his Son, Thou ſeeſt that in Time " of Need, a Man has neither Friends nor Re- " lations; therefore, let thee and I take each of " us our Sickle, and reap to-morrow by our- " ſelves.

" ſelves. This the young Larks related to their " Mother; who then cried, Now it is time to " move off, for the Corn will infallibly be reap- " ed to morrow. She, therefore, immediately " transferred her Brood to a ſafer Place; and the " Corn was reaped accordingly."

Friends not to be deſpaired of.

But tho' we are frequently deceived in our Friendſhips, we ſhould not ſtretch our Suſpicion too far, and turn Prudence into Miſanthropy, like *Timon* of *Athens*; who had no Confidence but in *Apemantus*, and that not entire. For as they once dined together, *Apemantus* happening to ſay it was a ſatisfactory Meal; *Timon* replied, " It would have been more ſatisfactory " to me, if you had not partook of it." Another Inſtance of his Hatred to Mankind was this, that having given a general Invitation to the *Athenians*; he made them the following Speech. " I " have a Fig-Tree in my Court-Yard, whereon " the People of this Place are accuſtomed to hang " themſelves; but being determined to build up- " on the Spot where it grows, I ſhall be obliged " to cut the Tree down: I therefore give this " public Notice, that, if any Man has a mind " to hang himſelf, he may make uſe of the Op- " portunity, whilſt the Tree remains fit for his " Purpoſe."

Such outragious Malevolence muſt be carefully avoided, and *Seneca's* Advice be followed, in chuſing a middle Way, betwixt that of making Friendſhip with all we meet, and of ſuſpecting every Mortal. It is as great a Folly to believe no body, as every body.

Friendſhip

True Friendſhip.

Friendſhip is often confounded with Party; whence Men frequently join in Wickedneſs, inſtead of uniting in Virtue. Let a Thing be ever ſo good, it becomes bad if carried too far. All the Virtues have their Limits, which ſhould never be paſſed. Genuine Friendſhip conſiſts in the cloſe Union of two or more Perſons; who inwardly love one another; and promote each others Welfare as their own, in all good and lawful Deſigns only: otherwiſe the Junction loſes the Name and Nature of Friendſhip; and turns to Combination and Conſpiracy. If one Man obliges himſelf to defend and juſtify all the Actions of another, whether they be good or bad, right or wrong; this is not Virtue or Friendſhip but Vice, and Villainy. For, there can be no Friendſhip but betwixt good Men. When bad Men unite in the ſame Deſires, Fears, Animoſities, Endeavours, and Ends; this is not Friendſhip, but Combination or Faction. It is a groſs Error, to call this kind of Junction Friendſhip; and ariſes from the ſtrange Propenſity of the Vulgar, to confound Virtues and Vices. The common People look upon Friendſhip as an offenſive and defenſive Alliance, on all Occaſions, good, bad, and indifferent. When a Drunkard, a Robber, an Adulterer, &c. is accuſed; theſe vulgar Wretches think it their Duty to defend, or bring off their Friends; and cenſure thoſe who will not endeavour to blanch and conceal ſuch Enormities. But, if this be Friendſhip, the Patronizing of Thieves and Robbers is Virtue. According to theſe bad Principles, the famous *Cartouche* was a Hero,

Corrupt Friendſhip.

Hero, who ſuffered the ſevereſt Penalties, for ſome Years, without betraying his Gang; thinking the Law of Friendſhip required this obſtinate Behaviour. Yet many among the Vulgar admired and praiſed this ſturdy Reſolution, as a Sign of true Courage and Friendſhip.

Daily Experience ſhews, that few Men diſtinguiſh betwixt Friendſhip and Conſpiracy. Even Philoſophers, and the Learned, have been guilty of this Error. *Chilon*, one of the ſeven wiſe *Greeks*, once doubted how to behave as a Judge, in an unjuſt Cauſe of his Friend. On the one Side, he conſidered the Tranſgreſſion of the Law; and on the other, the Tranſgreſſion of Friendſhip; ſo that he took the Medium betwixt the two; paſſed Sentence upon his guilty Friend, but prevailed upon the Aſſeſſors to acquit him; and fancied he thereby fulfilled the Duty both of a Judge and Friend. Thus the Philoſopher ſacrificed his Character of Honeſty, to a falſe Idea of Friendſhip: for, to judge contrary to Law, or perſuade others to do ſo, is the ſame Thing, as to the Fact; tho' indeed the latter is the greater Crime, becauſe it adds Cunning to Injuſtice. An honeſt Man will not regard the Perſon of his Friend, when appointed his Judge. Yet many great Men beſides *Chilon*, have given into this Error; as appears, among numerous Inſtances, from the Explanation of *Gellius*, upon this very Procedure of *Chilon*: for *Gellius* thinks, that the Philoſopher here took an excellent middle Way; "ſo as to reſtrain two violent Paſſions within "due Bounds." We likewiſe ſee, that *Cicero* himſelf

himſelf was guilty of an Error, in declaring that "a Man ſhould not refuſe to ſuffer a ſmall Diſ-"grace, in order to procure a great Advantage "to his Friend." *Tenuis vel turpitudo, vel infamia, ſubeunda eſt; ſi eâ re magna Utilitas Amico quæri poteſt.*

The Friendſhip of *Caius Bloſius* to *Tiberius Gracchus*, deſerves the Name of Treachery, rather than Friendſhip: upon being aſked what he would do for his Friend, he anſwered, "Eve-"ry Thing." "How, every Thing," ſays *Lælius:* "ſuppoſe your Friend ſhould bid you "fire a Temple?" "That," replied *Bloſius*, "my Friend would never deſire." "But ſup-"poſe he ſhould," rejoined *Lælius*. "Why "then" ſaid *Bloſius*, "I would do it."

The great *Pericles* judged more ſenſibly; when being deſired by his Friend to give a falſe Teſtimony in his Favour, anſwered, "A Man ſhould "oblige his Friend in every Thing but Wicked-"neſs." Whence appears the Folly of thoſe who are ready to ſacrifice even their Souls to their Friends; as in the Faſhion of Duelling by Proxy. The great Poet *Simonides* once requeſted ſomething unjuſt from *Themiſtocles*, whoſe Friendſhip he relied on; but *Themiſtocles* replied, "If "you ſhould offend againſt the Rules of Po-"etry, you would be no good Poet; and if I "ſhould offend againſt the Laws, I can be no "good Governor." *Rutilius Rufus* was upbraided by his Friend in theſe Words, "What ſigni-"fies your Friendſhip to me, when you will not "do what I requeſt?" *Rufus* anſwered; "And

"pray

" pray, where is the Good of your Friendſhip to " me, when you aſk a Thing which I dare not " do?" *Cicero's* Rule of Friendſhip is right: " not to aſk any Thing unjuſt; nor to do it if " aſked." *Hæc prima Lex in Amicitiâ ſanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.*

Efficacy of Friends and Enemies.

It is neceſſary to procure Friends; but more neceſſary to reconcile ourſelves with Enemies. As Hatred has a ſtronger and quicker Effect than Friendſhip; one Enemy may do us more Hurt, than ten Friends can do us Good. And hence the common Saying is juſtified; " One Enemy " is too much; and a hundred Friends too little." My Enemy may burn my Houſe in an Hour; and my Friends not build it up in a Year. A Character is eaſily loſt, but not eaſily recovered. Beſides, true Friendſhip is rarer than perfect Hatred. A *Damon* and *Pythias*, a *Scipio* and *Lælius*, are hard to be met with: the World affords but few Examples of ſuch perfect Friendſhip. Friends, in Times of Trial, wriggle, draw back, heſitate, and fall off; and we have Proverbs enow to that Purpoſe. But not to mention maſked Friendſhips, of which Hiſtory, and daily Experience, ſupply innumerable Inſtances; we may obſerve that Hatred and Enmity are ſerious, earneſt, and conſtant Things; which never fail in the Will, when our Enemy has Power to hurt. It is miſerable to live without Friends; but unſafe and dangerous to live among Enemies. If my Friend die, I am grieved: if my Enemy die, I am freed from a threatened Danger. Moſt of my

Enemies not to be deſpiſed.

Friends

Friends do me neither Good nor Harm; but the leaſt of my Enemies may hurt me. All Men are able to do Miſchief. It is therefore wrong to truſt entirely to Friends; and ſay, "tho' we have "ſome Enemies, yet we have good Friends." It might be much ſafer to have neither Friends nor Enemies. It is more prudent to be reconciled with a little Enemy, than to procure a mighty Friend. Let an Enemy be ever ſo puny, he has a Sting. Beſides, we are not ſo much to regard what a Man is, as what he may be. Experience ſhews, that many, whoſe Malice was deſpiſed, have made themſelves felt, when Opportunity offered. A deſpiſed Enemy is not conquered. And as we ſee in Romances, that a Cat is ſometimes changed into a furious Knight; and a Foundling into a Prince's Son; ſo we daily find, in Reality, great and unexpected Tranſformations of Men: whence it is adviſeable, to look even upon the meaneſt Perſon, as one whoſe Help we may want ſome time or other. I have formerly deſpiſed an Enemy, thinking it out of his Power to hurt me; but have found him grow over my Head, and render my Life uneaſy. I now run into the other Extreme; my Precaution being ſo great, that I am ready to make every Horſe a Bow; becauſe Hiſtory informs me, a Horſe was once made a Conſul. This Fear, I own, may be carried too far; but when a Man has been burnt, he dreads the Suſpicion of Fire. He who has broke his Head againſt a low Door, is apt to ſtoop, when he enters a high one.

If

If an Enemy cannot be brought to Terms; we ſhould, at leaſt, give him no freſh Provocation; for thus, tho' he is not diſarmed, his Rage may be leſſened, if we ſhould fall under his Laſh. But we muſt not carry the Matter ſo far as the Nobleman mentioned by *Selden*. This Nobleman being once inſtructed by his Tutor, how to procure good Treatment, in caſe of falling into his Enemy's Hands: The Pupil anſwered, "I have conſtantly followed your Rule, even as "to the Devil himſelf; and therefore hope that "his infernal Majeſty will treat me with Civility, "if I go to his Court."

To be prudently treated.

Socrates once hearing *Cleomenes* praiſed for ſaying, "it was the Duty of a Prince to reward "his Friends, and diſtreſs his Enemies;" replied, It might have been better if *Cleomenes* had taught, that "we ſhould do good to our Friends, "and be reconciled to our Enemies." The bittereſt Enemy may be diſarmed by Civility, and Patience. The great *Pericles* being once reviled by a Citizen, who continued his foul Language till Evening; *Pericles* ordered him to be lighted Home, becauſe it was dark. *Chryſippus*, when reproached by a noted Reviler, ſaid, "Friend, I praiſe thy Reſolution, in thus con-"tinuing to ſupport thy Character." "Do "good to thy Friend," ſays the wiſe *Cleobulus*, "for that will increaſe his Friendſhip; and do "Good to thy Enemy, for that will leſſen his "Hatred." An intelligent Commander fights reſolutely againſt the Enemy; but takes Care to have it known, he fights out of Duty, not perſonal

ſonal Enmity; and therefore, if he falls into the Enemy's Hands, he is not treated as a Murderer, but as a Priſoner of War; who hath done no more than his Poſt and Profeſſion required. In the taking of Towns, not only Soldiers, but Women and Children, have been put to the Sword; when the Enemy had been inſulted and enraged, during the Siege: whereas the Conquerors would have been contented with ſubduing the Place, if the Conquered had been prudent enough to uſe only the Weapons of War, and not the Tongue. To this purpoſe *Plutarch* makes a prudent Reflection, in the Example of one *Euthymus*, whom the Enemy would have ſpared, if it had not been for his Reviling; but his calling the *Corinthians* effeminate, coſt him his Life.

Sarcaſm. We find this Rule no where leſs obſerved than at the Bar; where a Pleader ſeldom confines himſelf to the ſupporting of his Cauſe, without launching into perſonal Reflection and Inſult: by which Procedure a good Cauſe is often made bad; and the inſulted Lawyer, who before was only an Enemy to the Cauſe, becomes an Enemy to its Defender. If *Cicero*, in defending himſelf and the Republic, againſt *Anthony*, had dropt Invective; or not ſwelled his Harangues with perſonal Abuſe, and bitter Sarcaſm; it is probable the End of the Orator would not have proved ſo tragical. The ſame may be ſaid of numberleſs others, who enrage their Enemy, and treat his Foibles and Failings with extreme Contempt; not conſidering that one ſingle Circumſtance may deliver them a Prey to

their

their Enemy. *Cicero* ſlighted his Enemy, who in a ſhort Time got the Aſcendency over him. He truſted to numerous Friends, wherein he was greatly deceived; for the Friendſhip of ſo many noble Perſonages, with which he was intrenched, proved unable to defend him againſt the Reſentment of a ſingle Enemy.

VII.

Of the Cauſes of Friendſhip and Hatred.

IT is common to wonder at Diſſentions among Brothers. Men uſually imagine a ſtrict Bond of Union ſhould ariſe from Similarity of Temper; and are therefore ſurprized to find Diſcord, Animoſity, and Hatred, prevail among near Relations. But various uſeful Remarks may be made upon Man, by ſetting common Opinions aſide, and conſulting Experience. We find, in Fact, that Diſſimilarity of Tempers, Studies, and Purſuits, frequently cements Friendſhip; and that Sameneſs of Inclination frequently weakens or deſtroys it. Similarity not always the Cauſe of Affection.

When a ſedate Temper meets with a briſk one; a paſſionate Man with a quiet Woman; an extravagant Husband with a frugal Wife, &c. the Bond of Union is rather ſtrengthened than relaxed. And hence the ancient Poets illicitely coupled the delicate *Venus* with the boiſterous *Mars*. In Man and Wife.

The Mildneſs of *Socrates* and the Tartneſs of *Xantippe*, made an excellent Mixture: for altho' their Matrimonial Happineſs was clouded; yet, neither Party had any Inclination to ſeparate. *Socrates's* Impriſonment and Death demonſtrate that this Pair perfectly loved each other. Many a Man burns for a Lady; but when her Love grows hot to him, his grows cold to her, and ſo alternately; the Ice of the one kindling the Fire of the other. This Leſſon Lovers are perfect in. And hence it appears, that oppoſite Tempers may excite and preſerve Eſteem; and ſimilar Tempers baniſh and extinguiſh Love.

In ſimilar Qualifications.

That common Studies do not, of themſelves, maintain Friendſhip, appears by numerous Inſtances. *Sejus*, a learned Man, hated *Caius*, for nothing but his Learning; and as ſoon as the latter ceaſed to ſtudy, the former ceaſed to hate him. The Enmity betwixt *Titus* and *Sempronius* was owing to their common Studies: they were both Divines; but when one of them laid aſide Divinity, they preſently became reconciled.

Similar Virtues and Vices.

People will deſpiſe their own Virtues, and cenſure their own Vices, in others. No body laughs at the Folly of another, ſo much as a Fool; no Man believes another ſo little, as a Liar; no People cenſure the Talkative more, than great Talkers. Miſers daily condemn Covetouſneſs; and Squanderers rail at Extravagance, in others. If one young Lady calls the Chaſtity of another in Queſtion, ſhe gives Suſpicion of herſelf.

Jealouſy and Envy.

It may be alledged, that this Diſlike does not ariſe from Similarity of Inclination, but from Envy

Envy and Jealouſy; and that one Miſer hates another, one Lady of Pleaſure another, only for interfering in Buſineſs. But ſuch Cauſes, by no means, ſolve the Paradox: for the Hatred we ſpeak of, not only reigns among People that are near, or preſent; but even extends to a Diſtance. How can a Miſer in *London* interfere with a Miſer in *Paris*; a Courtiſane at *Paris* with another at *Venice*; yet they will hate and deſpiſe each other? The Envy of a Potter in *Europe* will ſtretch to an unknown Potter in *China*.

Strangeneſs of Men.

There are ſome Phænomena of Men, which it is hard to aſſign adequate Cauſes for; and particularly why a frugal Perſon ſhould cenſure Frugality in another; why one Pedant ſhould hate another, one Drunkard, one Liar, &c. condemn another; when no claſhing of Intereſt can be pretended. The Strangeneſs of Man ſhews itſelf in many Inſtances. On every Occaſion, he deſpiſes his own good Qualities, and condemns his bad, if they appear in others. This, indeed, is a Paradox. However, it is certain, that Differences and Quarrels may ariſe from Similarity of Affections; and that a Man may hate and deſpiſe another, for the very Vices and Virtues, which himſelf poſſeſſes.

It might indeed ſeem as if Men looked upon their own Virtues and Vices, as their Property or Poſſeſſion; and could not bear to ſee that Property transferred upon others; from the acknowledged Poſſeſſion of which, they imagine themſelves entitled to Fame and Character, either good or bad. And in this View, Jealouſy, Envy,

and Hatred may be uſed as paultry Weapons, to keep off Invaders: whilſt Self-Love makes the Vicious hug even their Vices, as their Means of riſing to infamous Reputation. But this does no Honour to human Nature: and whatever debaſes the Species ought, if poſſible, to be checked, reformed, or aboliſhed.

A Letter to a timorous young Lady.

TAKE my Word for it, Madam, there is no Beaſt ſo fierce, no Man ſo couragious, but may meet with his Tamer. Nay, the higheſt ſpirited and moſt tyrannical, both among Brutes and Men, frequently ſubmit and cringe to the loweſt and weakeſt of Animals; as if Nature deſigned to ſhew us, how vain it is for Man to pride himſelf in his Strength, by ſubjecting Tyranny and Pride to Humility and Meekneſs; and giving the weaker Creatures Dominion over the ſtronger. The Lion reigns Monarch of the Foreſt, and ſtrikes Terror into the fierceſt Animals; yet drops his Creſt, and runs at the Sight of a Mouſe. The great Conquerors, who made the World tremble, have been commonly quelled by their Wives. *Hercules* was governed, like a Child, by *Omphale*. *Sampſon* was a Slave to *Delilah*. The magnanimous *Achilles* wept for his fair *Briſeis*. And Hiſtory, both ancient and modern, abounds with Examples to the ſame Purpoſe.

In our own Times, an *Engliſh* General, who, by his Valour and Conduct, brought the greateſt Kingdom

Kingdom of *Europe* to the Brink of Deſtruction, was ſo governed by his Wife, that almoſt as many Satyrs have been publiſhed upon his domeſtic Tameneſs, as Panegyrics upon his Courage in the Field. The Character is general; and ſhews itſelf in whole Nations.

What People have more Bravery without Doors, and more Timidity in their Houſes, than the *Engliſh?* Their Audacity is ſo great, as to affront Danger, Difficulty, Government, Laws, Puniſhment. *Engliſhmen* turn their Backs upon nothing; and frequently hang or drown, ſtab or ſhoot themſelves. But tho' no Reaſon or Duty, no Law or Religion, can reſtrain this Ferocity; yet a Woman can wind them, like a Thread, about her; and lead them with a ſingle Hair. The ſtubborn Metal that will not yield to the Fire and Hammer, is preſently ſoftned by its proper Flux, and rendered malleable. Hence, if inſtead of penal Laws, *Engliſhmen* were threatened with the Reſentment of their Wives, it might poſſibly have a greater Effect upon them, than their numerous Statutes, made and provided, to keep them within the Limits of Reaſon. For, theſe Lions of Men are as tame as Lambs before their angry Wives.

The *Italians* are ſubmiſſive abroad; but Tyrants in their own Houſes. They ſtoop and cringe to Strangers; but brave it in their Families. An *Italian* Apartment is an Eaſtern Seraglio in Miniature; where the Wife ſees the Face of no Stranger, without Permiſſion.

Contentious Men commonly make peaceable Huſbands; and quarrelſome Huſbands peaceable Subjects. A Coward in the Street makes a bluſtering Hero in his own Parlour; whilſt he, who, at his Wife's Command, will tend the Nurſery, is not to be joked with abroad.

And now, dear Madam, I hope you will ſee, that your Dread of the General is groundleſs; and are ready to make good your Engagement with him. The Accounts you have heard of his gallant Behaviour in the Field, inſtead of ſtriking you with Terror, and ſetting you againſt him, ſhould make you chuſe him: for there is Reaſon to expect he will prove as tender a Huſband, as he is a brave Officer. I knew a Serjeant, reputed one of the boldeſt Fellows in the Garriſon where he ſerved; yet made a tame, good-natured Huſband. His Widow afterwards married a Smith, who has patiently taken more than one Box on the Ear from his Neighbours; but gives his Wife no Quarter: ſo that I queſtion whether he has not beſtowed more Blows upon her, than he has lately done upon his Anvil.

I do not bind myſelf for the General's Behaviour: but this I am ſure of, that your Apprehenſion of him is groundleſs; and that his being a good Officer can never excuſe your breaking your Word with him.

VIII.

Of Union and Diſcord.

IT is a general Opinion that nothing promotes Happineſs, or eſtabliſhes human Affairs, ſo much as Concord; which, like Cement in a Building, faſtens all Things together, both in public and private Societies. The ancient Poets reckoned Diſcord among the infernal Deities; but Temples were erected to the Honour of Concord. *Parvæ Res Concordiâ creſcunt*, is the Motto of ſome Republics: and we juſtly pray for Unity, Peace, and Concord; on account of the noble Effects they produce. It might paſs for Wickedneſs to plead in Favour of Diſcord; and I would, by no means, be ſuppoſed of Council in ſo bad a Cauſe. I only beg leave to mention ſome Effects of Concord and Diſcord, from whence others may judge of their real Uſe to Mankind. The Advantages of Union.

Whoever examines Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Hiſtory, or conſults Experience, will find bad Effects proceeding from Quiet, and Union; and good ones from Debate, and Contention. In the middle Age, Peace reigned in the Chriſtian Church; but at the ſame time Ignorance prevailed, and ſpread thro' the People like a Gangrene. The Church was then unanimous in Sentiment; and no Man took upon him to enquire after Truth. The Light of Nature was rejected. What the Popes ordered to be believed Its Diſadvantages.

was implicitly received, without examining. Orthodoxy then ſignified, the renouncing of Senſe and Reaſon. Perſons of the firſt Quality could ſeldom write their own Names; but were contented to ſet their Marks. Even *Carolus Magnus*, who had great mental Abilities, never learned to write; and his Son, *Ludovicus Pius*, having Occaſion to ſign an Inſtrument of Conſequence, in the Preſence of ſeveral Biſhops, was obliged to ſend for Pen and Ink from the Chancellor's; there being no ſuch Thing in the Palace. Even the Prelates of thoſe Times were groſsly ignorant. A Biſhop frequently ſigned for his Brother Biſhop, who could not write; and it was reckoned great Learning, to recite the Official by Heart.

Such was the State of Things in the peaceable Times of the Church: but when this Reign of Union ended, Strife and Conteſt ſucceeded; which fanned up ſome Sparks of Knowledge, that had long lain buried in the Aſhes of Quiet. It now blew a Storm, which, tho' it threw all Things into Confuſion, diſpelled the Miſt of Ignorance, and opened Men's Underſtandings. If we compare the preceding peaceable Reign with thoſe tumultuary Times that ſucceeded, we ſhall judge it more uſeful to live like Men at Variance, than like tame Brutes in Unity.

Advantages of Diſcord in Government.

In Civil Affairs, ſuch good Effects have been found from Diſcord, that ſome Princes made *Divide et impera* their Motto. Intelligent Rulers have often ſown the Seeds of Diſcord in their Council, and ſometimes among the People; and Party has thus been checked by Party, Govern-

men;

ment ſecured, Conſpiracies diſcovered, and Proſperity promoted.

Under the ancient *Roman* Republic, the People indeed ſuffered many Misfortunes, whilſt Diſcord reigned among the principal Governors; but they felt greater Hardſhips when Peace and Unity prevailed. The Civil Wars were ended by the Triumvirate; but upon this followed Baniſhments, Murders, Licentiouſneſs, Corruption, and the Ruin of the Republic; ſo that the Triumvirate, tho' called the Bulwark of the Commonwealth, ſeems rather erected for its Deſtruction. And numerous Inſtances might be produced to the ſame Purpoſe.

In œconomical Affairs, and the Conduct of Families, we frequently find no better Effects of Unity. *Petronius* cries out, *Malè eveniat Ædilibus, qui cum Piſtoribus colludunt: ſerva me, & ſervabo te; itaque Populus minutus laborat.* And Œconomy.

Who was a better Œconomiſt than the elder *Cato?* But he grew ſo alarmed at the Peace and Quietneſs that reigned among his Servants, as to think his Family in Danger, becauſe they were all of one Mind. Many have taken this Hint; and prevented Combinations, Cabals and Miſchiefs, projected againſt Families. When prudent Gentlemen obſerve Differences ariſe betwixt their Stewards and Tenants, they will prevent Matters from coming to Extremities; but rather moderate, than determine the Diſputes. Open War would here be incommodious, and perfect Harmony hurtful. It is every Maſter's Duty to preſerve Peace in his Family; yet Experience

rience ſhews, it is not amiſs to keep up ſome little Jealouſies among Servants; as Means to come at the Truth. A Judge may draw right Information from the Wrangling of the Lawyers.

Objections I am not pleading the Cauſe of Vice, or diſſuading from Virtue. I acknowledge that Peace and Union ought to be recommended; ſo far as they tend to promote Happineſs. But as moſt Men are prone to Evil; Peace and Concord are not of ſuch great and general Uſe, as thoſe may imagine, who take Mankind, not for what they are, but for what they ſhould be. We muſt not deſire Mankind to poſſeſs any Thing permanently, but what may be of permanent Uſe to them.

Peace and Unity are not Things to be wiſhed among Cheats and Robbers. All Societies of bad Men are Gangs of Conſpirators. If Men could be truly united to a good End, or the Promotion of general Happineſs, nothing is more devoutly to be wiſhed than Union. But, taking Men as they are, much leſs Miſchief happens to the World from Diſcord, than if all Mankind ſhould join in Vice and Wickedneſs.

The Law indulgently ſuppoſes every Man honeſt, till the contrary is proved; but Experience ſhews, that Men ſhould be ſuppoſed diſhoneſt, till the contrary appears. Diſagreement may ſometimes prove more advantagious to Mankind, than Agreement. Perhaps Union as often promotes Folly and Wickedneſs; as Diſcord prevents Ignorance and Vice.

IX.

Of conferring Favours.

The Manner of conferring Favours.

BENEFITS conferred may be equally great, yet produce different Effects. The Manner of conferring will often render a ſmall Preſent more acceptable than a large one. A ready Hand is more pleaſing than a full one. A forced Favour loſes of its Grace and Merit; and a ſtale one may prove no Favour at all. Backwardneſs in Bounty is mean and diſguſtful. He gives double who gives quick. Gifts are never eſteemed ſo much for their own Sake, as for ſhewing the benign Diſpoſition of the Giver.

Artaxerxes, King of *Perſia*, travelling one time over his Kingdom; his Subjects, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, every where met him upon the Road with Preſents. Some brought Corn, others Wine, and the Poor brought Fruit. A certain Man, by Name *Sincetas*, whoſe Hut the King paſſed by, was ſo poor, that he had nothing to give; but rather than let the King go unpreſented, he ran to a Spring, took up ſome Water in both his Hands, and offered it to his Majeſty; with the moſt zealous Prayers and hearty good Wiſhes. The King was extremely moved at this Sight; and received the well-meant Preſent, with a greater Manifeſtation of Acceptance, than all the reſt; and ordered the poor good Man a Reward.

The

The Mind of the Giver ſtamps Value upon the Gift. Perhaps, the Sum lately bequeathed, by the Will of a private Perſon, to the Empreſs Queen, might give her more internal Joy, than the large Subſidies of *England* and *Holland*. A ſmall free Gift, voluntarily conferred, unites Mind to Mind much ſtronger, than great Advantages obtained by Petition. Thoſe who deſire to oblige, privately enquire what Things their Friends ſtand in need of, or would prove moſt acceptable; in order to ſupply their Wants, and gratify their Wiſhes unexpectedly. If we wait till we are aſked, the Preſent becomes vapid. A Gift cannot then appear frank and generous; how much ſoever the Giver may colour it with external Signs of Generoſity and Gladneſs. But if the Giver appears unwilling to part with his Gift; or if it cleaves to his Fingers; it proves a more diſguſtful Thing, than a civil Refuſal. There is great Efficacy in the Manner of doing a Thing. Not only a civil Denial, but even a Burthen, an Inconvenience, a Trouble, laid by one Friend upon another, may prove more pleaſing than a Preſent made with an ill Grace.

It requires Prudence, on many Occaſions, to confer Benefits, or make Preſents, in a proper Manner; eſpecially where Women are concerned: becauſe, among other Effects of a Preſent, it is apt to bring Ill-will, from others, upon the Giver. To ſhew that one Woman is preferred to another, in Point of Civility, Eſteem or Friendſhip, may prove dangerous. This *Paris* found, in giving the golden

golden Apple to *Venus*; whereby he enraged two other Goddeſſes againſt him. The Philoſopher *Ariſtippus* was wiſer; for, when King *Dionyſius* offered him his Choice of three young Ladies, he choſe them all; for fear of provoking any one of them.

The Benefits conferred by Superiors, upon Inferiors or Dependents, commonly produce ſuitable Returns. Reſpect and Gratitude are preſerved or improved; prior Obligations ſtrengthened; and Diligence and Obedience increaſed, in proportion to judicious Rewards. The Good that deſcends from thoſe above us, is always pleaſing, creates no new Obligations, but corroborates the old. All Bleſſings from Heaven are extremely agreeable to Man: they improve our Love, quicken our Duty, and augment the Gratitude we before owed to the Creator. In Superiors.

The Caſe is otherwiſe when we do Good to our Equals; for, this turns Friendſhip and Equality, into a kind of Superiority on one Side, and Subjection on the other; deſtroys the Equilibrium that before exiſted; throws the Receiver below his Rank; takes away his Freedom, or lays him under an Obligation. Benefits and Preſents between Equals rather produce Coldneſs and Averſion, than Love or Friendſhip; becauſe the Bond of Union is thus altered into a Chain of Subjection. Of this we have many Examples, though generally overlooked by the Vulgar; who think the Thing ſtrange or incomprehenſible. Every Man holds it juſt and right to obey his Superior; but hard to ſerve his Equal or Inferior: whence Equals.

ariſe

ariſe Coolneſs, Envy, and Hatred, rather than Friendſhip. If one Brother be promoted to a high Rank, and another be left as he was; the former Equality being deſtroyed, their Love begins to diminiſh: and, how much ſoever the neglected Brother may ſeem to rejoice at the Promotion of the other; yet this Joy is ſeldom real, but only put on, as a Maſk to cover Diſlike.

Gratitude. I would diſcourage no Mortal from doing good Offices to his Equals: I hold it to be an eternal Virtue for Men to endeavour the Welfare of each other; and would have the Practice encouraged univerſally. I am only pointing out what Effects are generally produced by ſome Services done to our Equals; and heartily lament the Weakneſs and Imperfection of our Nature. The leſs kindly Effect our Endeavours to do Good produce, the greater is the Merit of the Benefactor; or the nearer to heroical, diſintereſted Virtue. I would aboliſh that odious Vice of Ingratitude; and encourage all the World to be grateful. A Benefit is a Benefit, let who will confer it; and requires Acknowledgment, Gratitude and Love, come it from Superior, Inferior, or Equal.

Gifts of Inferiors. Benefits conferred by Inferiors upon their Superiors, have a ſtill ſtranger and more infallible Effect; as might be illuſtrated by a much greater Number of Examples. Superiors require to be obeyed, and will ſcarce be obliged, by Inferiors. As we ſeem to loſe Part of our Freedom by receiving Benefits from Equals; Superiors ſeem to loſe Part of their Superiority, by receiving a Benefit from Inferiors. Perhaps the Gratitude of Superiors

Superiors, for Benefits received, flows more from Pride than Affection; as they presume all Goodness shewn them, proceeds from Duty, not Choice; and therefore receive but little Pleasure from it. Many had rather assist Strangers than Relations; because Strangers acknowledge the Favour, and are obliged by it; whilst Relations look upon it only as a Debt, and a Duty, due to Consanguinity.

Those who presume to oblige their Superiors, by Duty, Service, or Money, in hopes of Reward, should soon close their Accounts: for I find in all History, both ancient and modern, astonishing Numbers of unrewarded Subjects, pleading their great Merit, and Liberality to Sovereigns and Superiors, with self-tormenting, fruitless Expectations, and an increasing Detriment to themselves and Families.

X.

Of Avarice and Extravagance.

Extravagancy and Parsimony.

AMONG the many Properties of human Nature, which almost exceed Comprehension, comes the Parsimony of the Rich, and the Extravagance of the Poor. Some rich Men spare to-day, as if they feared starving to-morrow; and the Indigent often consume in an Hour, what they may feel the Want of for a Year. These Properties are the more unaccountable, because

becauſe Parſimony is chiefly found to predominate in old People, who may expect Death every Day; and Extravagance chiefly in the young, who may reaſonably hope to live long: as if old People hoarded Money, becauſe they cannot want it; and young ones threw it away, becauſe it is neceſſary to their Subſiſtance. This Conduct muſt be aſcribed to the inconſiderate Paſſions, or Folly of Man: for I can ſee no Senſe or Reaſon in it.

The Deſire of Getting.

I have weighed the Arguments, which rich old Men employ to defend their Parſimony; and find them mere Pretexts. It is certainly abſurd, that a Man ſhould make great Preparations for a long Journey, when he is juſt at the End of it.

Providing for a Family.

The Father of a Family indeed may, with ſome Appearance of Reaſon, defend his Frugality, as neceſſary to provide for his Children. This Argument of a Father for ſaving, generally paſſes for juſt: but if truly conſidered, it will often be found a Colour, put on to conceal a Vanity.

I cannot approve of thoſe, who make the natural Relations betwixt Parents and Children, to be merely imaginary. I abominate the Behaviour of *Ariſtippus*, who, being reminded of his Duty to his Children, as Parts of himſelf, ſpit upon the Ground, and cried, "That alſo is Part of me." The Perſon mentioned by *Plutarch* ſpoke unlike a Philoſopher, when being admoniſhed of his Obligation to his Brother, replied, "The Obli-
"gation conſiſts merely in this, that we both
"came

" came by the ſame Road into the World." Nor will I ſuppoſe, with certain Philoſophers, that the Relationſhip betwixt Huſband and Wife, Father and Children, ceaſes after Death; or that ſuch human Regards take no Place in another Life. I am far from going theſe Lengths: becauſe ſuch Doctrines, if they could be proved, might produce Neglect and Careleſſneſs in the World, to the great Prejudice of human Affairs. It is juſt and proper to abide even by certain Weakneſſes, which tend to ſupport Society, and promote Felicity.

Careful Obſervers, who ſuffer not themſelves to be dazzled with Appearances, reſt aſſured that our chief Duty to our Children, is to give them a ſuitable and good Education; and that the leaving them poſſeſſed of great Wealth, may turn more to their Prejudice than Advantage. A moderate Fortune, left to Children, excites their Induſtry, tends to improve their Underſtandings, and in ſome meaſure obliges them to become uſeful Members of Society.

Experience ſhews, that the providing for a Wife and Children, is uſually no more than a Pretence for Avarice. If it was a true Reaſon, Men would ſet certain Bounds to themſelves; and only acquire ſuch an Eſtate, as might ſupport the proper Expence of their Heirs: whereas, in Fact, the Deſire of getting is unlimited; and he who poſſeſſes an hundred thouſand Pounds, is as anxious to acquire more, as he who is worth but a Thouſand. And hence an old married Man defends his Deſire of getting, with as ſorry Argu-

ments as an old Batchelor. They both add Intereſt to Principal, without ſeeing why; and they would both do better to acknowledge their Vanity, than make uſe of Arguments that cannot excuſe it. Our Nature is ſuch, that as ſoon as we ſet a-part a Sum, which we do not deſign to touch, there preſently ariſes in our Minds a Deſire, to augment it: and the greater the Principal is, the more attractive it becomes; according to the Law of Gravitation, found in the Phyſical World. *M. Craſſus* was one of the richeſt Subjects we know of; but his Parſimony and Wealth increaſed proportionally. *Plutarch* relates, that this *Craſſus* had every Day a Philoſopher at his Houſe; and uſed to lend him a Hat, to ſcreen him from the Sun, in their Walks; but never once forgot to aſk for the Hat again, when the Walk was ended.

We daily hear Avarice complained of, cenſured, and reproved; and the Inconveniences, Plagues, and Dangers of Riches repreſented in the ſtrongeſt Manner; yet the Miſer continues a Miſer ſtill. He thinks the Exclamation of Men againſt Riches, reſembles the Fox's Contempt of the Grapes; and ſees thoſe who preach the keeneſt againſt Wealth, do not ſlink out of its Way; but willingly accept of the Load, when offered, with all its Incumbrances. Nay, theſe Deſpiſers of Wealth commonly grow anxious about it, when once they have got it: and then find the Temptations and Allurements of Riches not ſo eaſy to combat as they imagined.

I can-

I cannot discover an adequate Cause of Covetousness. What should move a Man to undergo Trouble, Anxiety, and Disquietude, in raking up Money, not for himself, but another, perhaps a Profligate, or even an Enemy? I therefore attribute this Passion to the Folly of Man; which, we see, may sometimes rise so high as to make some Misers actually starve themselves. Avarice, in such a Degree, is a shocking Disease; and properly compared to that Dropsy, wherein the more a Man drinks, the more thirsty he grows, and the sooner he dies. Nay, this Disease is like Witchcraft; for the Miser does not possess his Money, but his Money possesses him. Hence, tho' Covetousness be an odious Failing, it seems a Characteristic of Man, as a Creature that does not know himself. Covetousness.

We do not usually distinguish betwixt the squandering and hoarding kind of Avarice; and therefore use the same Word to express both these Passions; which are not only different, but opposite Vices. The hoarding Miser neglects, but the squandering Miser takes Care of his Health. The Hoarder punishes only himself, but the Squanderer punishes the Public. The Hoarder is not so anxious to scrape for more, as to watch over what he has got; whence his Avarice becomes his Torment. The Hoarder may be esteemed an innocent Subject, in comparison of the Squanderer, who throws away with one Hand, what he gets with the other; and employs all sorts of Means, lawful and unlawful, to raise a Fund for supporting his daily Extravagance The hoarding and squandering Miser.

The Temper which *Salluſt* aſcribes to *Catiline*, *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, is common to the whole Tribe of ſquandering Miſers; who are obliged to be rapacious, in order to ſquander. It happens to theſe Squanderers as to feveriſh Perſons; who, by their Heat, and too great Expence of Juices, are conſtantly obliged to drink.

Hoarding Avarice is the more rare and abſurd; but ſquandering Avarice more common and hurtful. Hoarding Avarice is a myſterious Paſſion, unintelligible as to its Cauſe, and affords a Specimen of human Folly; but ſquandering Avarice is eaſy to underſtand, and ſhews an Example of human Vice. Indeed, both deſerve Chaſtiſement: hoarding Avarice by Shame and oral Reproof; but the ſquandering Avarice by corporal Puniſhment.

Men commonly confound Stingineſs with theſe kinds of Avarice; and the *French* denote them by the ſame Word *l'Avarice*; whence *Harpagon*, in *Moliere's* excellent Comedy, is called *l'Avare*; tho' his Character be that of a Niggard.

There are different Kinds of ſquandering Avarice. Some prove, at the ſame time, both Hoarders and Squanderers; tho' ſuch Inſtances are rare: for we commonly find, that the ſquandering Miſer is as little diſpoſed to keep what he gets; as the hoarding Miſer is to part with it.

There is another Error frequently committed in the Deſcription of Covetouſneſs. A Man may be ſo generous, as rather to deſerve the Name of extra-

extravagant; yet pass in the World for a Miser: another shall save every Shilling, and yet be thought generous. These kind of Judgments are not formed from the Quantity, but the Manner of the Expence. It is customary to judge of a Man's Expences by his Cellar and Kitchen; so that if his Table be well served, he acquires the Reputation of a generous Man, among those who do not reflect, that Money must also be laid out upon other Occasions. He who purchases Books, Pictures, Statues, or other Productions of Artificers, shall be called a covetous Man; and he who contributes to the Support chiefly of Taverns, shall acquire the Character of generous.

Extravagance of the Poor.

The poor Squanderer is a stranger Phænomenon than the rich Miser. It is hard to understand why any Man should watch over a Treasure, which he never designs to use; but much more difficult, to comprehend how a Man should, in Opposition to the certain Foreknowledge of his Poverty, the Contempt of the World, Imprisonment, and other impending Misfortunes, never think, even to the last, of curbing his Extravagance. If Covetousness resemble a Dropsy, Extravagance resembles Madness: and it would be as just to prescribe Laws for Extravagants, as Guardians to Idiots. When this Vice comes to its Height, it proves destructive to Society: for, an Extravagant, like the Breaking of a Banker, not only hurts himself, but ruins Numbers. It is incomprehensible how any rational Creature should be totally subdued by this Passion. Profuseness, indeed, sometimes acquires the Appel-

lation of Generoſity; and the Extravagant, ſo long as he remains poſſeſſed of his Eſtate, is highly eſteemed and careſſed by Paraſites and Flatterers. And this Adulation may be ſome Motive to the Extravagant; but ſhould not a certain Fore-ſight of his Misfortunes be ſome Check upon him too? Poverty and Want are ſure to fall heavy upon him. The Extravagant has nothing to expect but the extremeſt Hardſhips, after his quick Tranſition from a King to a Beggar. I can find no rational Motive for this Extravagance; at leaſt for that Part of it, conſiſting in Pomp, and Show, and Equipage, which afford little Advantage; and chiefly ſerve to make the Fall more conſpicuous. Yet how many Gentlemen are thus metamorphoſed into Beggars? We daily ſee young Flaunters in gilt Chariots, daſhing the Dirt upon wiſer People; then preſently afterwards walking the Streets, and receiving the Dirt of others.

The Hoarder and Squanderer compared.

The hoarding Miſer torments himſelf; and the Spendthrift puniſhes the Innocent. The Hoarder heaps up for others; and the Prodigal ſcatters what others had heaped. The Hoarder thinks ſo much of the Time to come, as to forget the preſent; the Squanderer has his Thoughts ſo taken up with the Preſent, as to neglect the Future. The firſt lives as if he was never to die; and the laſt as if he had but a Day to enjoy. Both are unprofitable Members of Society: the one occaſioning a Stoppage in the Circulation; and the other an Hæmorrage. The hoarding Miſer is like

like a Fog that infests the Air: the Prodigal resembles an outrageous Storm, that overturns all in its Way. The Hoarder passes restless Nights, tho' he has nothing to fear; the Squanderer sleeps sound, and leaves want of Repose to his Creditors. The hoarding Miser is a ridiculous Creature; and the Prodigal a noxious Animal.

XI.

Of Ambition and Meanness.

Ambition and Baseness.

I Here mean not to speak of Rank, or Precedency; but only to lay open an Error daily committed, by calling that Ambition or Greatness, which may more justly be termed Meanness or Baseness. To illustrate this Point, I shall produce two Persons from ancient History. Both *Alexander* and *Cæsar* were immoderately ambitious; but not with the same Propriety.

Alexander and Cæsar.

Alexander took the strait Road to Fame, by braving Misfortunes, Difficulties, and Dangers; determined rather to fall, than recede a Step; rather to lose the Whole, than give up the least Part. But *Cæsar*, to become great, debased himself immoderately; stooped to little mean Actions; and, to get Dominion over his Equals, suffered even his Inferiors to tread upon him; flattered the Scum of the People, and sacrificed true Glory to an empty Name. This is not Ambition, but extreme Baseness.

Indeed, an ambitious Man is no good Man; if by Tyranny and Bloodſhed he forces his Way to Greatneſs: but to practiſe Baſeneſs in paving the Way to it, is acting out of the Character of Ambition; and directly contrary to its Nature. If *Alexander* had found no other Means but theſe, to make himſelf Great; he would never have obtained his End: for as his lofty Soul could not ſtoop to Baſeneſs; or condeſcend to work with mean Tools; nor even to gain a Victory by flying and facing; his Ambition would have conquered itſelf; and made him renounce conquering the World. *Cæſar* was not ſo delicate; no Road was too dirty for him; he ſhewed no Regard to Right and Wrong; he uſed Craft and Subtilty, Diſſimulation and Flattery, bowed down to the Wicked, and courted the Mob, in hopes of riſing; he wallowed in Baſeneſs, to arrive at Power; and crawled thro' the Mire to the Throne. *Alexander*, with a high Creſt, always ſimilar to himſelf, goes on Majeſtic; as if his Motto was, "I could uſe other Means to accompliſh my Ends; "if I were *Parmenio*, and not *Alexander*." A Man may commit horrid Crimes to gratify his Luſt of Ambition; yet not ſtoop to any Mortal; or practiſe low, groveling Arts, to arrive at his Ends. It is wrong to call any Man ambitious, who ſervilely changes himſelf into the baſeſt Shapes; and obtains a Title or Poſt, by ſacrificing real Honour to nothing but its Shadow.

Difference of Ambition.

The haughty ambitious Man, and the low proud Man, are different Characters; tho' commonly

monly confounded. They both deſerve Reproof, but of different Kinds. The haughty ambitious Man uſes all but baſe Means, to riſe in Life; but he will not fawn, to become a Lord; he will not beg, tho' to make himſelf rich; nor bear to be trampled on by ſome, in order to rule over others. But the mean proud Aſpirer fights all the Weapons, even the baſeſt; bears Scoffs and Contempts; behaves like a Slave; crawls like a Worm; and tamely ſuffers Indignities.

Baſe Pride.

There were two Brothers; the one a Governor, the other a Citizen. The one was called ambitious, becauſe he ſtrove after Places and Preferments; the other was thought to have no Ambition, becauſe he continued a plain Citizen. The ambitious Brother got acquainted with the Footmen of a Nobleman; and by that Means gained Admittance into the Houſe. Being once entered, he uſed, in the Abſence of the Nurſe, to rock the Cradle; in the Abſence of the Maids, to ſweep out the Rooms; and, when no Footman was in the Way, he would bruſh my Lord's Cloaths: by which ready Addreſs, he acquired the Favour both of the Lord and my Lady. When he had obtained ſome Footing, he made little Panegyrics, and congratulatory Poems upon the Births and Chriſtenings of the Children, and other joyful Occaſions of the Family; and roſe to ſuch a Height of Favour, as to be admitted to dine with my Lord. Now he ſtudied the Turn and Temper of his Patron, in order to regulate his own Behaviour; he approved

proved of nothing but what pleaſed his Lordſhip; and ſquaring his Religion and his Conſcience to that Model, became the Favourite of the Family. Laſtly, he obtained a Promiſe of Marriage from my Lady's Woman; upon which, both the Patron and Patroneſs regarding his Welfare as their own, never ceaſed ſolliciting, till they procured a Title for him. And, thus, the Comedy ended in a Wedding.

Noble and mean Ambition.

All this while the Citizen continued to ſupport himſelf by his Trade and Labour; and will always remain what he is, a worthy Man; but the other, a contemptible Creature: for their different Manners ſhew, that tho' the one is more raiſed, the other is the more honourable; and that he who was ſaid to have no Ambition, is ten times more nobly ambitious than his Brother. A Title can never waſh out the Stain of Servility. It happens with ſuch low Creatures, as, by the common Proverb, with Apes; the more they ſtruggle, or the higher they climb, the more they diſcover their odious Failings.

It is a Miſtake to think, that a Petitioner for Honours and Titles is nobly ambitious; this being always a Sign of a groveling Mind. Such Petitioners reſemble common Beggars; the Difference lying only in this, that one begs out of Neceſſity, and the other from Vanity. A *Spaniſh* Nobleman, who prefers Hunger to Labour, and Starving to the Staining of his Blood, may juſtly be called proud. Such a Nobleman has ten times more Ambition than a *Cæſar*, a *Pompey*, or a *Craſſus*; for, tho' the noble *Spaniard* would deſire to be a *Cæſar*,

Cæſar, yet he would not tread in *Cæſar's* Steps to arrive at *Cæſar's* Station. His only Wiſh, when ſtarving, is to have been born a Commoner; that he might have laboured for his Living, with Reputation.

XII.

The Character of a Courtier;

In a Letter to a Philoſopher.

AMONG all the Creatures, there is none ſtranger than Man; and among all Men, there is none ſo ſtrange as a Courtier. Man is the Quinteſſence of the Oddities of the World; and a Courtier is the Quinteſſence of the Oddities of Men. It is hard to deſcribe a Man; but impoſſible to deſcribe a Courtier: for his Irregularities are as irreducible as the Moon's. He is like *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image, compoſed of different Subſtances: his Head is of Glaſs; his Hair of Gold; his Hands of Pitch; his Body of Limeſtone; his Heart, part Iron, part Clay; his Legs of Straw; and his Blood a Mixture of Water and Quickſilver; where ſometimes Heat, ſometimes Cold predominates; ſometimes Acid, ſometimes Alkali; ſometimes Bile, and ſometimes Phlegm. His Compoſition is ſo ſtrange, that the Courtier neither knows himſelf, nor can be underſtood by others. It can ſcarce be determined what Claſs

he

he belongs to; whether Birds, Beaſts, Men, Spirits, or Bodies. We muſt therefore content ourſelves with a bare Sketch, and ſet an Inſcription over it, "This is a Courtier;" as unſkilful Painters write over their Pictures, "This is a Man, "this is a Horſe," &c; for there is no reading a Cypher without the Key.

But, notwithſtanding the Difficulty to aſſign the Claſs of this wonderful Phænomenon; in ſome reſpects it plainly reſembles a Man: for the Courtier has a Body; and even a Soul: nay, he has more Souls than one. We may fairly ſay, that all the Properties to be found ſeparately in other Men, are concentered in his ſingle Perſon; ſo that as Man is called the Microcoſm, or Miniature, of the World; the Courtier may be called the Microcoſm, or Miniature of Man. He is a Being that, at the ſame time, is wiſe and fooliſh, thoughtful and prating, avaricious and liberal, humble and proud, hot and cold, couragious and cowardly, merry and ſad, active and paſſive, frighted and frightening, promiſing all Things and performing nothing: in ſhort, he at once both thrives and withers; and ſighs over the Chains which he purpoſely forged for himſelf.

And all theſe Qualities do not appear alternately, or by Fits and Starts, but exiſt, after a wonderful Manner, at the ſelf-ſame Inſtant in the Courtier. He wears many Maſks. He has the Face of a Lyon, and a Hare; a Snake, and a Dove; a Wolf, and a Lamb, &c. If we look upon him on one Side, he appears wiſe and thoughtful; ſo that we read, as it were, theſe Words

Words on his Forehead: "Let all your Actions "be wiſe; and regard the End." Indeed the ſlippery Station he ſtands in, requires uncommon Prudence; which being taught at Courts, they are properly called "the Schools of Wiſdom."

If we view him on the other Side, we find nothing but Stupidity. However he takes extreme Care to have his Cloaths fine, his Hair curled, and his Feet in a proper Attitude; ſo that it coſts leſs Pains to draw the Map of a Country, than a Courtier beſtows upon forming his Perſon, and Carriage. Indeed his Perſon, Apparel, Geſture, and Diſcourſe, are conſtantly adjuſted to the Mode, be that ever ſo ſilly or inconvenient. He never troubles himſelf about the Matter of his Diſcourſe, but only the Manner; and uſes the faſhionable Phraſe and Accent: for particular Forms of Speech, and inſignificant Compliments, are the only Things meant by Diſcourſe at Court.

Courtiers in Latin are called *Magnates*, and we may properly term them Magnets; for they have the attractive Virtue of the Load-Stone, in reſpect to Metal; with this Difference, that Magnets attracts only Iron, but the *Magnates* Gold and Silver. A Courtier, indeed, does not attract either, in order to keep it; but on purpoſe to let it go again; like Smoakers, who ſuck in the Fume of Tobacco, to puff it out. And tho' much Treaſure comes into his Coffers, yet they are always leaky, and commonly empty: whence we ſee, he has the two oppoſite Qualities, Covetouſneſs and Liberality, in equal Degree.

He

He has likewiſe Pride and Meanneſs, both in Extremes. He ſubmits to be trod upon, that he may tread upon others. He acts the Part of Horſe and Rider in one Perſon: he is rode by his Superiors, that he may ride his Inferiors. Hence he is a Mixture of Tameneſs and Ferocity; Suppleneſs and Tyranny; Pride and Humility; Ambition and Meanneſs; and therefore we may ſay, that as Nature made him for the Service of others, his Paſſion is to domineer in Revenge. On one Side he has no Will of his own, but is like a Machine, moved by the Wheel of the Court; ſo that we can ſee by his Countenance, as by a Weather-Cock, what Wind it blows at Court: for, according as Matters go there, he exactly ſquares his Thoughts, his Taſte, his Humours, his Appetites, and his Religion. But he expects to have every body's Will regulated according to his own; and wears this for his Motto, "*Sic volo, ſic jubeo; ſtat* "*pro Ratione Voluntas.*" And hence, a Courtier is equally paſſive and active.

He is continually in Fear himſelf, and, at the ſame time, ſtrikes Terror into others; and may juſtly ſay, "*Flammas moveoque feroque*;" whence it is difficult to determine, whether he more deſerves to be hated for his own Fears, or for thoſe he occaſions to others. We are certain of his Promiſes, but uncertain of his Performances. The Promiſe of a Courtier is that kind of Deed, which the Maker can alter, as often as he pleaſes, without Infamy. And therefore no body truſts his Promiſes; partly on account of the hazardous

dous Situation of the Promiſer; and partly of the Transformations to which he is ſubject: for a Courtier is a King to day, and a Cat to-morrow. He is like a Muſhroom, that ſhoots up in the Night, and withers in the Day; and often ſeems born for nothing, but to die.

The ſtrangeſt part of his Character is, that he laments and ſighs over the Chains, which he voluntarily makes, and puts on for himſelf. What is more common than to hear a Courtier complain of his Situation, and miſerably bewail his Sufferings; extolling thoſe as happy, who are releaſed from Court-Slavery? Yet, we ſee him perpetually ſtriving, with Might and Main, to continue in this very ſelf-ſame wretched Situation. He begs, and ſighs, and prays to be delivered out of his Priſon; but when the Door ſtands open, to give him his Liberty, he works with Hands and Feet to ſhut it, and keep himſelf in. Nay, many of theſe ſtrange Creatures die for Grief, as ſoon as ever their darling Liberty is granted them. A Courtier herein reſembles a fond Lover, who, having juſt broke with his Miſtreſs, ſtands continually at her Door, begging, with great Contrition, to be re-admitted. In the ſame Manner, this ſtrange Creature, when once in Poſſeſſion of his Liberty, employs all the Artillery of Craft, Prayer, Sighs, Lamentations, Tears and Contrition, to purchaſe his old Slavery again. And, upon being re-admitted a Priſoner, all the Trouble and Anxiety he groaned under, immediately changes to the higheſt Joy;

Joy, which continually dances before his Eyes; whilſt the Freedom and Diſmiſſion he ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, now appear to him no other than Impriſonment, Fetters, and Torture.

This Deſcription, my Friend, you may perhaps think too ſevere, or carried beyond the Truth; and I confeſs it to be a high-coloured Piece: but I was unwilling to conceal any thing from you, after you had frankly opened to me your Intention of procuring a Place at Court. I, therefore, beg you to conſider, whether your Ship is fit to ſail in ſuch a troubled Ocean. It appears to me, that you do not rightly judge of yourſelf; nor the Nature of the Country, where you deſire to be an Inhabitant. What can *Saul* do among the Prophets? No body doubts of your Merit: but what is Virtue in one Place, is thought Vice in another. Here it will be at your Peril, to ſquare your Conduct with that of the Society, wherein you would enter a Member. Conſider, whether your Temper and Inclination ſuit with ſuch a Climate. I believe the thick Air you now live in, will agree better with your Conſtitution. He that has always lived in a Marſh, ſhould live there ſtill. A Fiſh lives beſt under Water; a Mole under Ground; and a Bat in the Dark. A clear and piercing Air, which is reviving to ſome, proves pernicious to others. And that kind of Light which helps the Sight of one, weakens the Eyes of another. A Philoſopher lives beſt in the Shade. Ancient Fables tell us, that midnight Ghoſts immediately turn to Stone, if they ſee the Sun:

Sun: and I greatly fear ſome ſuch Change would happen to you, upon ſeeing that brilliant Place a Court; which might make my good Friend a Supplement to *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*. Therefore, again, conſider, before you embark on this Expedition. If you ſtill perſiſt, I heartily wiſh you a proſperous Voyage; tho' I am thoroughly convinced, you will ſoon repent of the deſperate Undertaking.

I am &c.

I hope my Reader will not ſuſpect me of levelling this Character againſt all Courtiers; becauſe then he muſt ſuſpect me of Injuſtice, as well as Folly: ſince Hiſtory, both ancient and modern, furniſhes Examples of Courtiers, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Good-Senſe and Virtue; and done Honour to their Country. My Characters are not deſigned to diſparage, or debaſe; but to inſtruct, and inform. And all Characters admit of Exceptions.

XIII.

Of Phyſic and Phyſicians.

THERE is no denying that Medicines have a Virtue; and that numerous Diſeaſes are cured by them. That they ſo often fail, is not ſo much owing to the Remedies, as to the ſuperficial Knowledge we have of the human Body. A great Phyſician aſſures us, the human

The Imperfection of Phyſic.

Conſtitution is as little known as the *Terra Auſtralis*; whoſe Coaſts we are not hitherto acquainted with. And hence a Medicine which proves ſerviceable to one, proves pernicious to another; and what operates at one time, produces no Effect at another. This we find not only in different People, of apparently different Conſtitutions; but even in the ſame Conſtitutions, and in the ſame Perſons, at different times. For the ſame Medicine ſhall ſometimes operate well, ſometimes ill, ſometimes too much, ſometimes too little, or not at all, even upon the ſame Perſon. It is no Wonder the Seed ſhould miſcarry, when the Nature of the Soil is not known. The Conſtitution of Man is a Myſtery, a *Proteus*, which changes its Nature ſo much, as not to remain the ſame to Day, that it was Yeſterday, or will be To-morrow. And this ſo far confounds all medicinal Rules, that a Phyſician is like a Man married to a phantaſtical Lady, whom he can never ſuit; becauſe ſhe changes her Temper every hour.

Cures

It would be going too far to ſay, that all Cures are owing to Nature, Accident, or Good-Luck; but I believe it is true of the greateſt part of them: for I am ſatisfied, it happens with Phyſicians as it does with Fortune-tellers, who propheſy ſo long, and ſo differently, that they hit right at laſt. As Fortune-tellers come into Vogue, by a lucky Accident or two; Phyſicians often get into Practice and Faſhion, for the Fame of Cures they had no Share in; but were either performed by Nature, Accident, or the Patient's working Imagination.

A certain Author defines a Doctor to be a Man who writes Prescriptions, till the Patient either dies, or is cured by Nature. And, accordingly, the ancient *Greeks* had a Saying, that "Doctors "were Triflers." Indeed I by no Means subscribe to these Definitions; because numerous great Cures may be produced, and so evidently proved, that, next after God, they must be ascribed to Physic. I only say, that Physicians frequently obtain a Name, for Cures performed by Nature, by Accident, or by Help of the Patient's Imagination. The last Physician in a Case, is usually thought the best; not because he understands his Art better; but because he had the good Luck to be called in, when the Disease was declining, and Nature began to assist herself. This the People do not observe, and, therefore, sometimes, unjustly blame the best Physicians, and, undeservedly, praise the worst; by ascribing that to the last Doctor, which was the Effect of Time or Nature.

After the same erroneous Manner, People generally ascribe that to Art, which was owing to Accident. For, a Fever may often be checked by Alterations made in the Mind, or Thoughts, of the Patient; or by other casual Circumstances. Many Diseases may be changed, or even cured by the Passions, as Surprize, Joy, strong Expectation, &c; of which there are numerous Instances: yet in such Cases, the ignorant Multitude give all the Credit to the Doctor; tho' he did no more than visit the Patient, without pre-

ſcribing, at the Time. This is betraying as groſs Ignorance as the Country-Girl, who conſulted a Doctor about finding a loſt Sheep; and he, out of a Joke, gave her a Purge: but as the Sheep was found during the Operation, the Girl made herſelf ſure the Medicine was the Cauſe, and the Doctor a Conjurer.

By Imagination.

Many Diſeaſes ariſe from a perverted Imagination; and ſome of them are cured by affecting the Imagination only. It appears almoſt incredible, what great Effects the Imagination has upon Patients; but eſpecially thoſe of a particular Turn and Make. The famous Chymiſt, *Franciſcus Borri*, cured all Diſeaſes, for ſome time; and roſe to ſuch Height of Reputation, that Patients were carried from *Paris* to *Amſterdam* to be cured by him. But, when it came to be obſerved that he cured only thoſe who had a ſtrong Imagination, his Credit ſunk at once; and he worked no more Wonders. The ſame Thing happened to an *Iriſh* Quack, *Greterix*, called *the Stroker*, who, for a while, performed miraculous Cures, in *London*; but upon the ſudden Fall of his Reputation, his Skill deſerted him. Hence we may ſay, that he is the beſt Phyſician in whom the Patient has the greateſt Confidence. And if this be the Caſe, I hold it as unjuſt to oblige the Sick to make uſe of certain Doctors only; as it would be barbarous, to force them to make uſe of Confeſſors they do not like. In both Caſes they ſhould be left to their own Liberty and Choice; becauſe the Perſons we have a Truſt and Confidence in, may produce greater Effects,

Effects, with ſlender Skill, or mean Elocution, than the beſt and moſt experienced Phyſicians, or Orators, to whom we have any Averſion, Diſlike, or Indifference. A Quack, or a Farrier, in whom a Patient places great Confidence, is, in my Opinion, a better Phyſician for that Patient, than a graduate Doctor, from whom he has no Expectation.

And as we ſee by Experience, what extraordinary Efficacy the Imagination has in the Cure of Diſeaſes; I cannot approve of thoſe Doctors, who diſhearten their Patients, by giving haſty and blunt Opinions of Diſtempers. The principal Quality of a Phyſician, as well as of a Poet, (for *Apollo* is the God both of Phyſic and Poetry) is that of fine Lying, or flattering the Patient. Many a Man has been killed before his time, by a raſh Cenſure, or injudicious Condemnation of his Phyſician; and many a drooping Patient revived, upon the Doctor's aſſuring them of a Recovery. This remarkable Difference, betwixt regular Phyſicians and Quacks, is perhaps, in part, the Cauſe of the Cures performed by Quacks; for, a Quack can cure by Aſpect, or a Glimpſe of his Countenance: and the ſingle Aſſurance he gives his Patients of a ſpeedy Amendment, has often more Efficacy than the Apothecary's Shop. And it is doubtleſs as well for the Patient, to be cured by the working of his own Imagination, or a Reliance upon the Promiſe of his Doctor, as by repeated Doſes of Phyſic.

The great *Bartholine* declares, he once, by Miſtake, gave to a Patient a Bottle of fair Water,

inſtead of another Bottle of Liquor deſigned for an Emetic; and that the Patient's Imagination was ſo affected by the Expectation, that the Water operated as a Vomit. Now, if People may be ſick by Imagination, Phyſicians ſhould endeavour to cure by Imagination. And, of ſuch Cures, there have been ſo many remarkable Inſtances, as might afford ſufficient Hints for ingenious Gentlemen to work upon. I would not be ſuſpected of endeavouring to degrade the Art of Phyſic; or of looking upon Phyſicians as uſeleſs. I acknowledge the Effects of Medicine, and am ſatisfied great Cures have been wrought by the Rules of Art: but I ſay, at the ſame time, that many Cures are performed by Nature, Accident, and Imagination; that Men's Conſtitutions, Tempers, and Particularities, are not hitherto underſtood; and that the Rules of Phyſic, not being drawn from a Knowledge of Nature, are therefore frequently baffled; and indeed that the Trade is not yet advanced to a Science.

Rules from Experience.

If I were a Phyſician, I ſhould not always give the ſame Medicines to one Patient that I gave to another, in the ſame Diſeaſe: for, I judge of Medicines and Diet, not according to their own Powers and Virtues; but the Effects they uſually produce on the Bodies of certain Perſons, reſpectively. If any Man ſhould aſſure me he had long eat raw Fleſh, or drank ſtinking Water, and found they always agreed with him, I ſhould not adviſe him to leave them off. I have long continued the Practice

tice of drinking Coffee, becauſe it agrees with me; but cannot adviſe it to others of my own Complexion: and have perſuaded many againſt it, becauſe they found themſelves oppreſſed by it.

I judge that the Patient ſhould have a double Vote in every Conſultation of Doctors; or rather that the Phyſician ſhould content himſelf with Enquiring and Propoſing, and leave the Determination to the Patient. For, tho' the Doctor may have carefully obſerved a great Number of Patients, yet every ſenſible Patient has had the beſt and longeſt Experience of himſelf; and may therefore be the beſt Guide to his Doctors. If a Patient's Judgment be ſound, he ſhall have my Conſent to be his own Phyſician.

VI.

Of the Law and Lawyers.

THERE is a remarkable Affinity betwixt Attornies and Accountants: both their Arts conſiſt in Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Diviſion. An Accountant books his Income and Diſburſe, adds Sum to Sum, and thus lays the Foundation of his Balance. An Attorney books his Charges, adds Day to Day, Citation to Citation; and, with drawing Anſwers, Replies, and Rejoinders, ſwells the Account to a proper Size; till, at length, the Client knows the Sum Total. This kind of Law Book-keeping

The Rules of Arithmetic recommended to Lawyers.

Addition.

ing is ſo regular, that the Client can find no Fault, or make any Exception to the Legality of the Procedure; but has a liquidated Account delivered him, the Balance ſo much.

Subtraction. Subtraction is no leſs uſeful to a Lawyer; who carries few Cauſes from whence he does not ſubtract a Child's Share; ſo that if the Coſts recovered amount to a hundred Pounds, ſubtract ſixty for the Lawyer, and forty remain for the Client. Nay, let the Cauſe be won or loſt, the Lawyer, by ſubtracting from the Remainder, is ſure to be paid.

Multiplication. Every accompliſhed Lawyer muſt alſo be perfect in Multiplication. He is a poor Limb of the Law indeed, who brings a Cauſe into Court, and cannot carry two back. By this Art of Multiplication, the Study of the Law is promoted; and many a neceſſitous Family provided for. But, a ſenſible Man does not only take Care for To-day; he has always an Eye to To-morrow. I knew a Man, who, by this Art of multiplying Cauſes, not only nurſed them up during his Life-time; but left, at his Death, to the worthy Attorney who married his Daughter, three Boxes full of good fat Cauſes, for her Fortune: ſo careful was he to plant for Poſterity! What ſignifies the Theory of the Law, without making uſe of it in Practice, and ſecuring the Emoluments of the Bar?

Diviſion. But, Diviſion crowns the Labour of the Lawyer; and keeps his Practice alive, in ſpite of all Oppoſition. For, whereas, certain malevolent Perſons,

Perſons, having evil Deſigns againſt the Law, would traitorouſly, felonioufly, and of Malice afore-thought, ſtifle good Cauſes in their Birth, or not ſuffer them to grow to Maturity; a ſenſible Lawyer here ſteps in, with his Art of Diviſion, and prevents the fatal Miſchief; by inſpiring both Parties with Courage; and ſpiriting up their languid Forces, compels them to join Iſſue, and drag the languiſhing Cauſe to the Bar. And hereby a murderous Intention is happily prevented from taking Effect, and two ſubſtantial Advantages procured; for, hence, the Law is kept in a flouriſhing State of Activity, and every Man left to enjoy his Right. *Jus ſuum cuique.*

All Lawyers not Mercenaries.

Some are ſo ſevere againſt the Law, as to pretend, that Lawyers alone reap the Benefit of all the Cauſes tried: but thoſe who ſay this, betray their Ignorance of Lawyers. The Honour of gaining a Cauſe is Advantage enough to ſome of them. A Lawyer of Spirit, who loves and honours his Profeſſion, will plead without Fee; as Princes fight, not for Profit or Plunder, but for Ambition; and ſing *Te Deum* without gaining the Advantage. The honourable Gentlemen of the Robe are no more to be cenſured for encouraging their Clients to maintain, ſupport, and defend their juſt Rights, Privileges, and Immunities; than a good General is to be condemned for heartening up his Soldiers, and encouraging them to burn, plunder, and deſtroy the Enemy. Diviſion, therefore, is a capital

Qualification

Qualification of the Lawyer. Let *Divide & impera*, be the Motto of the Bar.

Algebra unprofitable to Lawyers.

I would adviſe no Lawyer to carry his Views farther than the four firſt Rules of Arithmetic: if he venture into *Algebra*, it is at the Peril of himſelf and Family. Deep Knowledge in Law is poorly paid for, and not every body's Money. A little Common-place Oratory, the Practice of Courts, and the four Rules of Vulgar Arithmetic, do the Buſineſs. The public Profeſſors of Law are ſtrangely wrong, in all the *European* Univerſities, to perplex the ſtudious Youth with *Grotius* and *Puffendorf*, the Inſtitutes and Pandects; loading their tender Heads with the uſeleſs Lumber of Precepts, Maxims, and Foundations of Law; without ever mentioning a Syllable of the Spirit, the Soul, and practical Rules, by which all the Buſineſs of the Bar is advantageouſly carried on; and the Sweets enjoyed, at the eaſy Expence of the Client.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of Government and Laws.

I.

Of State-Reformation.

STATES and Societies, like the Body of Man, are ſubject to various Diſorders. What in the Body we call a Diſeaſe, may, in Kingdoms and Republics, be called a State-Failing. Diſeaſes of the Body are cured by Medicines or Courſes; and State-Failings by Laws or Regulations. What in Phyſic is termed a Cure; we call, in Politics, a Reformation. Parallel betwixt Politics and Phyſic.

Since there is ſo near a Reſemblance betwixt Politics and Phyſic, betwixt the Lawgiver and the Phyſician; and ſince the Manner of Cure is alike, tho' the Remedies differ; intelligent Stateſmen might

might do well, in rectifying State-Failings, to imitate the Procedure of intelligent Phyſicians. The Phyſician goes cautiouſly to work with a weakly Conſtitution; and a Stateſman ſhould treat a weakly State with Delicacy and Gentleneſs: for, in both Caſes, the leaſt Over-doſe may do Harm. A prudent Phyſician examines the Conſtitution of his Patient, before he preſcribes; and ſuits his Preſcription to the Nature of the Caſe, its Circumſtances and Symptoms: and a State-Reformer muſt carefully enquire into the Nature, and Situation, the Turn, Frame, and Circumſtances of a State; and ſuit his Ordinances accordingly. For, as ſome Patients require double or triple Doſes; ſome Kingdoms require ſtronger Laws than others, to produce the deſired Effect.

Political Reformation.

It is a Rule, with judicious Phyſicians, to uſe no ſuch violent Means, as may prove worſe than the Diſeaſe. All Patients are not ſo happy as the *Swiſs*, who falling ſick upon a Journey, and being in a Hurry to get on, took the Phyſic of eight Days at once; and recovered. As it is a capital Rule in Phyſic, never to give ſuch violent Medicines, as may kill or cure at a Doſe; ſo it ought to be a ſtanding Rule in Reformations, to proceed Step by Step; adapt and proportion the Remedy to the kind of Diſorder in the State; and give no ſtronger Doſes than it can bear without being convulſed. Conſtant Experience ſhews, that a State is rather made worſe, than better, by all raſh and precipitate Reformations; as

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an Ague, by violent Medicines, may be turned to a continual Fever.

We learn by Examples, both ancient and modern, that, in moſt Reformations, State-Errors have rather been altered than eradicated. For, as Men are, by Nature, addicted to ſtart from one Extreme to the oppoſite; ſo in States, one great Error is apt to ſucceed another; as the hot Fit does the cold, in an intermitting Fever. A Miſer may laudably endeavour to correct his Avarice; but if he hold no Medium in his Reformation, he will commence Extravagant. In haſty Changes, we ſee, Irreligion turns to Superſtition; Fervor to Coldneſs; Courage to Fear; and Talkativeneſs to ridiculous Silence. I knew a Man ſo timid and cautious in his Diſcourſe, that he would not venture to relate the moſt common Occurrences, before he had ordered his Children out of the Room. This Man had been one of the moſt loquacious Inhabitants of the City; and was fined for ſpeaking too freely. In moſt Reformations, to avoid one Rock, Men ſplit upon another. Half-ſtarved People will eat till they ſurfeit; and Soldiers in a Pannic will run from the Enemy, into Fire or Water; and dye for fear of dying. Requires Caution.

For my part, tho' the World has always my good Wiſhes, I cannot rejoice at every Reformation; becauſe Experience ſhews, that the Thing deſigned to be altered, often remains as it did; tho' its Form be changed. The ſame Humours ſometimes appear under the Denomination of the Head-Ach, Rheumatiſm, or Gout; according as And not to be undertaken rathly.

as they fly, or are driven by Medicines, from one part of the Body to another. And as no Phyſician can juſtly ſay he has cured a Diſeaſe, becauſe he has changed it into the Gout or Rheumatiſm; ſo no Politician can properly ſay he has cured a State-Failing, when by endeavouring to root out an old Grievance, he brings on a new one. Too active Remedies ſometimes cure the Diſeaſe, but kill the Patient; and outrageous Reformations may ruin a State.

I am, however, no Enemy to Reformation; but remain convinced that moſt Countries and Societies require to be reformed. I only entreat Men to proceed in this Work with Judgment; and not run from one Error into another. He who goes ſlow, comes to his Journey's End at laſt; whilſt thoſe who make Poſt-haſte, may fall by the Way, or miſs the Track. There goes a Story of a Coachman, who finding the Road rough, aſked a Country Fellow, if it was poſſible to reach a certain Town before Sun-ſet: the Country-Man anſwered "Yes, provided you "drive ſlow." The Coachman, taking this for a Joke, grew angry; laſhed his Horſes into a Gallop, broke a Wheel, and did not reach the Town that Night.

State Policy not to be puſhed too far.

When a Perſon labours under too great a Fullneſs of Blood, I ſhould adviſe him to open a Vein; but to do it with Moderation, ſo as to leave the neceſſary Quantity behind. If a Houſe be crowded with Servants, it is proper to diſmiſs ſuch of them as are ſuperfluous; but to retain ſo many as may do the neceſſary Buſineſs of the Family.

mily. If a Reformation be not conducted with Moderation, we fall out of one Misfortune into another; and sometimes from a less into a greater. A certain King of *Pegu*, who had long been made uneasy by rebellious Subjects, banished a great Number of them, that he might more easily govern the rest: but the Country was so thinned by this Reformation, that his Neighbours took the Advantage, and made themselves Masters of him and his Kingdom. This is an Instance of State-Policy pushed too far.

Extremes are hurtful. All Sense and Virtue consist in Moderation: if once they exceed the proper Bounds, they become metamorphosed into Folly and Vice. The *Chinese* Philosopher, *Confucius*, wrote a System of Morality and Civil Policy, entitled, *The great Midway*; intimating that the middle Way is the best to follow. Good Things become bad, if immoderately used. I have known People ruined by Care; and impoverished by Parsimony. Activity has great Effects; but resembles a high-mettled Horse, that requires the Curb. It drives the Ship, like a fair Wind; but may run her upon a Rock. The Understanding must be Pilot; and make the fair Wind serve to a good Purpose.

Many by moderate, regular Labour, perform more than others by great Activity. I have, with Surprize, observed, that Women preserve Estates better than Men; and can find no juster Reason for it, than, that Men have more Activity, and more of the scheming, restless Nature, than Women. For, Women are not apt to undertake Reformations; Œconomy.

Reformations; but content themſelves to follow the common Rules of Œconomy: whereas Men will always be giving Specimens of their Skill and Addreſs, till they riſk their Ruin.

II.

Of meliorating the Univerſities of Europe.

The State of Univerſities.

I Hope my Reader will not take me for a Contemner of Science. I never jeſt with Learning; but only with its Fopperies, and our perverted Methods of Study. It is true, what ſome take for Means of promoting Learning, I take for Means of ſuppreſſing Science; and what ſome hold for Ornaments, I preſume are Diſgraces to Scholarſhip. I am perſuaded that we might arrive at our End by ſhorter Means; or ſooner and better become wiſe and uſeful by Meditation and Practice, than by Argument and Diſpute. For, tho' by Diſpute we arrive at Univerſity-Degrees; it is Experience and Reflection that make us really knowing, and ſerviceable.

To hear the Din and Alarm, to ſee the Buſtle and Hurry, of the *European* Univerſities; one might think they were Places big with Works; productive of the beſt Fruits and Effects; and conſtantly employed for the Service of Mankind. But whoever looks into the real Buſineſs they tranſact, will find theſe Mountains labour for a ſlender Produce.

Produce. Men may diſpute themſelves into Heats and Sweats, or drive round and round, in the Sciences, and yet the Matter of Science remain the ſame. Such Buſtling only alters the Mode, the Shape, or Size, but not the Subſtance, of Knowledge. Academical Exerciſes, whether in Diſcourſe or Writing, chiefly conſiſt in repeating what has been ſaid a Thouſand times already. But the ſame Song, tho' ever ſo good, diſpleaſes, if ſung too often. Indeed I reckon thoſe happy, who have their Taſte ſo formed as to reliſh the ſame Subject varied through all the poſſible Styles and Changes. But Sameneſs of Subject, variouſly modulated, does not delight, or inſtruct, every Hearer.

Univerſities founded in ignorant Times.

It is remarkable, that the Univerſities of *Europe* were founded in Times of the groſſeſt Ignorance. What kind of Taſte then reigned, what abſurd and monſtrous Tenets prevailed, what Foundations, both Spiritual and Temporal, took place, we ſee by the Hiſtories of thoſe Times; and, in part, by the preſent Remains of ſuch Inſtitutions, even in the beſt regulated Univerſities of *Europe*. It coſt *Luther*, and the other Reformers of Religion, immenſe Labour, to ſeparate the Tares from the Wheat. Many have wiſhed ſome Academical *Luther*, or *Eraſmus*, might ariſe; who, like them, would undertake to reform the Sciences. For, tho' great Improvements in Knowledge have lately been made, yet much of the old Tincture remains. We may have ſome Notion of the barbarous Ages by their Architecture; wherein the *Gothic* Taſte prevail-

Require Reformation.

ed, and produced heavy, cumberous, ill-concerted Buildings, ſet off with Profuſion of abſurd Ornaments; as appears by many Specimens ſtill ſtanding. In like manner there remain among us, numerous cumberſome Relicks of the uſeleſs, ſcholaſtic, phantaſtic, metaphyſical, burthenſome Learning; whereby both Religion and the Sciences are perverted or deformed; and their native Charms and Simplicity obſcured or hid.

Certain Studies might, at leaſt, be reſtrained, that render Mankind no wiſer; and others might be introduced, that are highly neceſſary for the Service of the Church, the State, and all the Arts and Profeſſions of Life. The right Study and Improvement of Natural Philoſophy, Morality, and Civil Policy, might render Univerſities of the utmoſt Uſe to a Nation; whereas, if proper Care be not taken, they may grow worſe and prove highly detrimental; by ſpreading falſe Taſte, Foppery, and Contagion thro' a Country; ſuffering the Study of Government to be neglected; Religion to be corrupted, or effaced; Morality to be beat out of Countenance; the Notions of Right and Wrong to be confounded; and ſuch Perſons to be treated as Idiots, who ſhall attempt to act well; dare to oppoſe wrong Meaſures; defend Liberty, Virtue, and Senſe; or maintain the only Foundations of good Policy, ſound Philoſophy, and true Religion. All this is poſſible.

The new Societies to ſupply the Defects of the old,

The Societies and Academies, founded in the laſt and the preſent Century, appear deſigned to ſupply this Defect of the old Univerſities. And indeed we are highly indebted to the new Societies for

for many real Improvements. In these Societies learned Men assemble, at certain times, to communicate their Thoughts. Each Member lays his Inventions, Improvements, or Writings before the whole Body, to receive Correction and Amendment. Curious and difficult Questions are proposed; and Rewards assigned to those who give the best Solutions. It is well known how much the Sciences have been advanced by these Means; and how many useful Discoveries made.

And to improve from each other.

But tho' these new Academies are of great Service in promoting the Sciences; yet we should not rest contented with them. Every University might have two principal Views; viz. the perfecting of Science among the Teachers; and the instructing of Youth. The new Academies have no Regard to the Instruction of Youth. My Judgment is, that the old Universities should be supported; but with such Amendments, and new Regulations, as might improve the Master as well as the Scholar. For which purpose, there needs no more than to copy the new Academies; transfer their Regulations into the old; follow their Practice of communicating all Works and Writings with their Collegues; and permit nothing to be published, till it has been carefully examined, and corrected, by the Society. If this were generally done, we might be sure of having none but good Books printed at Universities. But if Books are composed in a Hurry, or by Men of unripe Capacities, not versed in the Subject, nor practised in Writing, nothing but crude

Compoſitions are to be expected. And to ſuffer, or compel, the Students to write and publiſh before they are qualified by Time, Reflection, and Experience, is the way to have Books that cannot be worth the Reading.

There are other Means of trying and exerciſing the Strength and Capacities of Youth, without making the Public their Butt. And certainly it would be better to exerciſe the ſtudious Youth in the way of *Theſis*, than in formal Diſſertation, and Works at large. I am well aſſured, by Experience, that Diſſertation is above the Reach of a young or raw Capacity. A Student ſhould no more be ſuffered to become an Author, than a young Phyſician be permitted to practiſe at Court. They ought neither of them to make their firſt Eſſays upon the Public. A bad Book, once publiſhed, is no more to be recalled, than an improper Medicine once taken. Maſters, Tutors, and Governors muſt be upon the Watch, to preſerve and defend the Community, as well as their Pupils: otherwiſe both may be hurt. Crude Books not only affect the Reputation of the Author; but alſo his Friends, and thoſe who ſuffer, or direct him to publiſh.

Public Readings to be changed.

I have conſtantly obſerved, that public Lectures at Colleges are of little Uſe; becauſe few Perſons frequent them, and thoſe chiefly out of Curioſity; who inſtead of deſiring to be informed, in particular Points, come only to hear the Lecturer. If any of theſe Hearers wanted Information, there are ſo many Books, carefully written, upon common Topics, that it might

might be more inſtructive to ſtudy them, than to hear a haſty Compoſition read upon the Subject. I, therefore, judge it might be more uſeful, if the *Prælector* were turned into a *Reſponſor*; ſo as, at ſet Times and Places, to anſwer proper Queſtions, propoſed by the Students. This might be a Means of informing them in what they want to know; and of clearing up ſuch Difficulties as they meet with in their Studies.

And hence would ariſe conſiderable Advantage. For, no body, upon this Footing, would covet the the Profeſſor's Chair, who did not find himſelf qualified for it; becauſe, in ſuch a Situation, the Profeſſor's Ignorance could not be concealed. It would alſo encourage Teachers to ſtudy more carefully, and cultivate the Sciences with Vigour; ſo as never to be unprovided of ſuitable Matter, and Method, for Anſwers. And indeed, if this Rule were obſerved, no Teacher could remain ignorant; nor any Student be at a Loſs for Help in ſolving ſuch Difficulties, as prove too hard for his ſingle Abilities.

Profeſſorſhips to be altered.

It may be objected, that a Profeſſorſhip, on theſe Conditons, would be irkſome; as one Man may aſk more Queſtions than ten can anſwer. And I allow, the Chair would be no eaſy Seat: but the Trouble of it, might be abundantly recompenſed by its Utility. The Thing is not impracticable; for this very Manner of inſtructing was anciently practiſed. The Profeſſors of Law were formerly *Reſponſores*; and *reſpondere in Jure* is ſynonymous with teaching. It is not indeed to be expected, that any Man ſhould

be able to anſwer all Queſtions; nor would he be thought the worſe of for avowing his Ignorance: but what a Man cannot anſwer To-day, he may anſwer To-morrow; and both the Teacher and Learner be improved by the Queſtion. Thus Knowledge would be encreaſed, and the Public informed.

Only uſeful Books to be publiſhed.

If, beſides this Method of, at once, learning and teaching, the Students were kept, at certain Times, to the making of *Theſes*, with the Aſſignment of Rewards to the beſt Performers; an uſeful Emulation might be raiſed for the Encouragement of Study; and none but excellent Performances in the Arts and Sciences be preſented to the Public. Each Book would then prove an uſeful Ornament to its Country; and ſuch ſerviceable Studies, as now thro' Ignorance, Unſkilfulneſs, and Rawneſs of Writing, are fallen into Contempt, would grow into Eſteem; and our Libraries no longer be filled with the Lumber of raſh Scriblers, and ſelfiſh Bookſellers. It is not ſufficient that a Book appear under the Sanction of an *Imprimatur*, or a Declaration that it contains nothing contrary to Religion and good Manners. There are Thouſands of uſeleſs Volumes publiſhed, of which that Character may juſtly be given: but no Book ſhould appear before the Public, till it deſerves the Character of being wrote with Skill, Labour, and Judgment.

III.

Of the making of Laws.

SCARCE any Thing ſhews the Infirmity of human Nature more than the haſty making, repealing, amending, and multiplying of Laws. It is impoſſible that good Laws ſhould be made, and duly executed, unleſs the Legiſlative Power be knowing, prudent, and virtuous; ſo as to render each ſingle Law productive of Happineſs, or preventive of Miſery, to the People. To do this, requires greater Circumſpection, Study, and Skill, than Men ſeem generally to imagine. Requiſites in the making of Laws.

The ancient *Romans*, before they enacted a Law, hung up the Scheme for it, in a public Place; where it remained expoſed to View for three Weeks, or during the Space of *tres Nundinæ*, including three Market-Days; whereby, the Inhabitants both of the City and Country had an Opportunity of reading and examining it. The ableſt Orators and Lawyers publicly harangued upon the Sketch; ſo that every Man might hear what was to be ſaid for and againſt it. After this, the whole People were convened to give their Votes, in their reſpective Claſſes; and if the Law was adjudged to be good, by a Majority of Voices, it was confirmed by the Council, and engraved in Copper. This Ceremony may appear ſtrange to us; but, it had ſuch an Effect, that the Laws ſo made, are likely to prove eter- The Roman Laws, how made.

nal: for, they not only remained in Force to the End of the *Roman* Empire, but have ſurvived it; ſo as to be ſtill obſerved, and followed, in moſt of the States of *Europe*.

The Care required to enact,

How ſimple ſoever a Law may appear, it ought to be thoroughly ſifted and conſidered: if Men are in a hurry about it, the Conſequence may prove as bad, as if a Farmer ſhould cut his Corn before it is ripe; or ſtack his Hay before it is dry: which therefore fires, or rots in the Barn. *Apelles* expoſed his Pieces to public View, that all ſorts of People might examine them; and upon once hearing that, a Shoemaker had found Fault with a Shoe, in one of his Pictures, he acknowledged the Error, and corrected it. The like Method has been advantageouſly taken by different Artiſts, in their reſpective Performances.

Some may think it a Loſs of Time, thus to ſpin out the Examination of a Law; and an eaſy Matter, by a ſubſequent Act, to correct the Errors, or ſupply the Defects of a former. But the making of Experiments in Laws, is as dangerous to a State, as the making of Experiments in Phyſic. Miſchief is done in both Caſes, if the Experiment miſcarries. Men muſt not argue in ſuch momentous Affairs as they do in lighter Matters; and cry, "It is eaſy to make the Experiment;" becauſe Commotion is ſooner raiſed than ſuppreſſed in a Government. *Interim patitur Juſtus*, is a Maxim that muſt be regarded: for no good Man ſhould be hurt. And as it is neceſſary to be well aſſured of the Strength of a Medicine before it is given; ſo it is neceſſary that the Scheme of a Law

a Law ſhould be well conſidered, before it paſſes into an Act.

To prepare the Plan of a Law requires a whole Man, and more than a Day; for, beſides Particulars, a Law-Maker muſt neceſſarily attend to four capital Things, of a general kind; viz. (1.) The Nature and Situation of the Country. (2.) The Turn and Temper of the People. (3.) The preceding Times; to ſee what has happened. And (4.) to future Ages; to foreſee what may happen.

(1.) He muſt carefully repreſent to himſelf the Nature and Situation of the Country, for which the Law is intended. A particular Seed may be proper for one ſort of Land, but improper for another. A ſkilful Farmer examines the Nature of his Ground, before he ſows it; and a Lawgiver muſt carefully examine the Nature and Diſpoſition of the Country, before he undertakes to give it a Law. The ſame Cuſtoms, and the ſame Laws, do not equally ſuit all Places. A certain Philoſopher being aſked which were the beſt Laws; anſwered, "Thoſe beſt adapted to the Country; "for a good Law at *Athens*, may be a bad one "at *Lacedemon*." Suitably to the Country,

(2.) Every Lawgiver muſt regard the Turn, Genius, and Bent of the People, for whom his Laws are intended. Sometimes the People may be of ſuch a Temper, as to bear harſh Reformations; and yet be raiſed into Commotion by trifling Alterations. The *Chineſe* patiently ſubmitted to all the Laws of their Conquerors, the *Tartars*, except that of cutting off their Hair; about And People.

which many of them loſt their Lives. The great Reformer, *Peter Alexowitz*, brought the *Ruſſians* to quit moſt of their ancient Cuſtoms; but by inſiſting upon their ſhaving their Beards, threw the whole Country into Confuſion. The Ordinance for aboliſhing Exorciſms, tho', in itſelf, a Thing of an indifferent Nature, has produced more violent Effects, than the changing of Articles of Faith. As abſolute as the *Perſian* Monarchs are, they do not venture to aboliſh the pernicious Uſe of Opium: and as powerful as the late Emperor of *Ruſſia* was, he durſt not prohibit the drinking of Brandy. Theſe and the like Examples may direct Lawgivers, to ſtudy the Nature and Inclinations of the People, for whom their Laws are deſigned. What in one Country may be done with a Nod, or a Wink, cannot be accompliſhed with Fire and Sword in another. Laws muſt be ſuited to the People, and not the People to Laws.

Laws muſt regard paſt Times,

(3.) A Lawgiver muſt regard paſt Times, in order to ſee whether the Law he would introduce, has been experienced before, and with what Succeſs: for, it is from paſt Times that we muſt judge of Times to come. When an Ordinance has already miſcarried in the tenth Eſſay, we may preſume it will not ſucceed in the eleventh. After a Medicine has frequently failed, we can have no reaſonable Hopes of its curing. Hiſtory is the ſureſt Inſtructor.

The late *Czar*, who moulded *Ruſſia* anew, uſed ſuch Precaution in his Reformations, that he rarely attempted one, without being well aſſured

it

it would prove advantageous. King *William* being exhorted to introduce the New-Style, took Time to conſider of it; and conſulted with his Aſtronomers, whether Leap-Year, and other Chronological Irregularities, could by this Means be avoided. The Aſtronomers anſwered in the Negative: then ſaid the King, "We had as good "let the Style remain as it did." This Conduct of the *Britiſh* Monarch, the *Czar* frequently cited, when any new Regulations were propoſed to him, from which he could ſee no great Advantage to the Public.

Indeed, it is beſt to retain the old Regulations, when they cannot be bettered by new ones; becauſe Inconveniencies may ariſe from Alteration. A State is like a Building, conſiſting of ſeveral Parts, ſo put together, that one cannot be much diſturbed, without diſturbing the whole. And hence *Lycurgus* obliged the *Lacedemonians* to take an Oath, that they would never alter his Ordinances: which Oath they ſo religiouſly kept, that when *Phrynis* propoſed to improve the *Lacedemonian* Lute, by the Addition of two new Strings, the *Ephori* ordered him to be put to Death. This was rigid; for, the Circumſtances of Times frequently require old Ordinances to be abrogated. *Ageſilaus* was deſervedly praiſed, when, upon a certain Occaſion, he ordered the Laws to ſleep for twenty-four Hours. The ſame may be ſaid of *Alexander*, who, once, for weighty Reaſons, ordered that *June* ſhould be *May*. And *Plutarch* commends it in *Philopœmene*, that he not only knew how to command according to Law,

but

but even to command the Law itſelf, when Occaſion required. Doubtleſs no Law ſhould be made without Neceſſity; or but for the Sake of conſiderable Advantage.

And the future.

(4.) Lawgivers muſt repreſent to themſelves what may probably happen, to render their Laws unſuitable or hurtful in the future. Man, indeed, cannot always guard againſt Accidents, or prevent ſuch Things as he could not foreſee: yet, in the Buſineſs of Laws, and Acts of Perpetuity, Politicians muſt lay poſſible Accidents before them; and imagine Caſes capable of defeating, or changing their good Intentions: for, a Ruler, a Miniſter, or General, muſt not ſay, "I did not think "of that;" becauſe every Man ought to think of Accidents, and prepare for them. Thoſe who do not, are like thoughtleſs Travellers unprovided againſt bad Roads and Weather.

Suitable Councils to be choſe.

But becauſe Men are apt to take Matters in Extremes, I muſt add, that, by Accidents, I mean no other than common Accidents; for, to provide againſt extraordinary ones, is not ſenſible, but unreaſonable. The beſt intended Regulations may be as much defeated by ureaſonable Precaution, as by no Caution at all.

And thus, tho' great Prudence, and Conſideration are required in making a Law; yet the middle Way, betwixt the *French* Alacrity and the *Spaniſh* Solemnity, may be choſe. In the framing of Laws, we ſhould neither gallop nor creep: for, too much and too little Haſte have equally great Inconveniencies. Haſty Council is like unripe Fruit; and ſlow Deliberations like Fruits

that

that rot. It ſometimes happens, that the Circumſtances of public Affairs will not admit of Delay: and in ſuch Caſes, an imperfect Attempt is better than none. It may therefore be proper, for a State to have two Sets of Counſellors; a young, and an old one; and employ the Young when Matters require Expedition; but the Old when they ought to be done in Perfection.

IV.

Intimations of Man's Nature, with reſpect to Laws.

Man's refractory Nature.

IT is a ſtrange Property in us, that we ſhould have a particular Pleaſure in doing thoſe Things which are ſtrictly forbid. O that it were a Sin to drink cold Water! cries a certain *Italian*; meaning it would then taſte more delicious. No People are fonder of Wine than the *Mahometans*, to whom it is forbid by the *Alcoran*. Poſſibly their Deſire for it would leſſen, if this Prohibition were annulled. The good People of *England* are remarkable for breaking their Laws: they riſe againſt their bulky Statutes, as if determined to defeat them. Fines, Penalties, and Puniſhments, ſeem here to multiply Tranſgreſſions; and the Gallows itſelf to breed Malefactors.

Penal Laws without expreſs Prohibition.

I do not adviſe the abrogating of Penal Laws; becauſe tho' Fear and Puniſhment may awaken or excite the Appetite of Sinning; yet Laws check the open and general Commiſſion of Vice: which is

Cauſe

Cauſe ſufficient for having them: but, I preſume, if no particular, or expreſs Prohibitions were made uſe of, the Deſire of tranſgreſſing would be weakened; and Laws have a greater Effect, by ſuppreſſing the Spirit that is apt to rebel againſt Prohibition.

Effects of Prohibition.

It is an old Complaint, the more Doctors the more Diſeaſes; the more Laws the more Criminals. If a Man, who is naturally taciturn, be ſtrictly enjoined Silence, his Tongue would grow wanton. A Book may long lye buried in the Shops, and no Man aſk for it; but let it be prohibited, and half the Town will buy it. A certain Author actually obtained a Prohibition of his Works, on purpoſe to promote their Sale; and was not diſappointed.

How greatly Man's Deſire is raiſed by Prohibition appears from particular Secrets communicated, under the ſtricteſt Ties; inſomuch, that it is a Practice with ſome ſubtle People, to tell a Thing as a Secret, on purpoſe to have it diſcloſed: for, the Nature of ſome Men is ſuch, that they are ſure to divulge what they are charged to conceal; and to ſlight what they have free Leave to tell: which points out a Method of curing Blabs. Men are like unruly Horſes; the more you hold them in, the more reſty they grow. In Countries where the Women are locked up, Men are the keener after them; but where the Females go looſe, the Paſſion is cooler. This Conſideration moved ſome Lawgivers to indulge a free Commerce betwixt the Sexes.

Man

Man's Appetite to Things forbid.

Man ſeldom has a ſtrong Deſire for any lawful Thing, that is eaſily obtainable. We are not driven to our Duty by Laws, ſo much as by Ambition. Whatever Princes do, in their own Perſons, they ſeem to authorize in their Subjects. If it were enacted, that only Perſons of high Rank ſhould dine upon three Diſhes, the lower Sort would deſire to have three: but, if Commoners were permitted to have as many Diſhes as they pleaſed, whilſt the Nobility were limited to two; the inferior Sort would not exceed that Number. An Order to aboliſh the wearing of Jewels has ſet a whole Country in an Uproar; but, if the Order had only prohibited Ear-rings to Ladies of the firſt Quality, other Women would not have deſired to wear them. Some do not riſe till Noon; but if all People were ordered to lye in Bed ſo long, the preſent Morning-Sleepers would riſe earlier. There are thoſe who ſeldom ſpeak Truth; but if Lying paſſed for a Virtue, theſe Lyars would ſpeak as true as their Neighbours. If Gaming were reckoned ungenteel, Cards and Dice would loſe of their Reliſh. Some pretend to diſbelieve Religion, becauſe others hold Faith as a Duty. All this may be thought extravagant; but I judge of Things that may happen, from Things that have happened; and know no better Way to foretell the Behaviour of Men.

Gregorius Leti, in his Hiſtory of the Duke *D'Oſſuna*, gives a remarkable Inſtance of this perverſe Nature in Man. A rich *Neapolitan* Merchant, *Jacob Morel*, prided himſelf in not having once ſet his Foot out of the City, during the

the Space of forty-eight Years. This coming to the Ears of the Duke, *Morel* had Notice ſent him, that he was to take no Journey out of the Kingdom, under the Penalty of ten thouſand Crowns. The Merchant ſmiled at receiving the Order; but, afterwards, not being able to fathom the Reaſon of ſuch a Prohibition, grew ſo uneaſy, that he paid the Fine, and took a little Trip out of the Kingdom.

Oddities of Man.

We find Man generally deſcribed as a rational Creature, and diſtinguiſhed, by his Underſtanding, from the reſt of the Creation; but we may ſay, from Experience, that among all the Creatures we know, there is nothing ſo unlike a Man as Man. *Diogenes*, who had ſtudied human Nature, ſeems to have been convinced of this Truth. He called out aloud in Public, "Come hither ye Men, and hear what I ſhall ſay." Upon which the People flocked about him; but he beat them away with his Staff, ſaying, "he did "not call for them, but for Men." Indeed, when we conſider the Make of Man, we muſt acknowledge him an aſtoniſhing Maſterpiece; but when we reflect upon his Oddities and Caprice, and compare them with the orderly bounded Deſires of other Animals, our towering Notions of this noble Creature droop. Man's Life is ſpent in liking and diſliking, in chuſing and refuſing, the ſame Things. If an Inhabitant of another Planet ſhould deſcend upon this, and contemplate the terreſtrial Creatures, he might obſerve a certain Order, Regularity, and Dignity, among the Brutes; but a ſtrange odd

jumble

jumble of Desires, contradictory Appetites, and Passions, among Men. He would find we dealt in such aukward Sorts of Pretext, Chicane, and Grimace, as might lead him to suspect that Men were Mimics acting a Farce. Such a Stranger might be puzzled a long while, before he discovered that Man had Dominion over the Earth, and a Wisdom superior to Brutes.

My Design is not to describe Mankind; but to intimate we have Appetites, that make us strive against the Stream; do the Things we are forbid; neglect those commanded; pursue those attended with Difficulty and Danger; and, having once obtained them, despise and nauseate them in the Possession. These Appetites we observe even in Children; who seldom relish or enjoy the good Things given them; but long, and strive, and cry after Baubles refused them. Youth, we see, take dangerous Leaps; clamber Trees, Rocks, and Precipices; cross Rivers upon Boards; tempt Dangers and Difficulties, tho' forbid to the contrary; and sometimes the rather for being forbid. And since this appears to be Man's Nature, we cannot wonder so many excellent Laws, both divine and human, should be transgressed by Man.

Morality to be genuine.

This Account, plain and true as it is, may disgust the general Taste, at a Time when false Notions of Politeness, Rectitude, Fitness, abstract Philosophy, and metaphysical Morality, endeavour to get the Ascendant over Fact and Experience, History and the genuine Characters of Nature. But the World is what it is, however

Men may think of it: and we ſhould certainly endeavour to know it as it is, rather than amuſe ourſelves with Fictions about it. The moral World ſhould be deſcribed as juſtly as the natural.

The Taſte for it to be improved.

I cannot prevail upon myſelf to mould Morality according to the Faſhion of theſe Times. Truth and Nature ſhould not be perverted, or diſfigured. Certain Moraliſts, in order to apologize for the Failings of Mankind, venture to defend Enormities, and countenance Irreligion and Vice. *Socrates* was no Miſanthrope; but gave genuine Deſcriptions of Man. And, in my Opinion, that ancient Obſerver knew more of human Nature, and had ſtudied the Paſſions better than many of our modern Moraliſts. It is weak and groveling to accommodate moral Writings to a falſe, or depraved Taſte; and endeavour to pleaſe, by ſacrificing Truth and Reality, either to noxious Flattery, or empty Shew.

V.

Of Puniſhment, in order to Amendment.

Puniſhment neceſſary.

SOME Vices cannot be curbed by Exhortation, Threats, or Encouragements; whence corporal Puniſhments become neceſſary, and authorized by Law. If the Lazy cannot, by Admonition, Reproof, or Reward, be excited to Labour,

Labour, the Rod and the Whip muſt quicken them: if an obſtinate Criminal will neither confeſs nor plead, the Torture muſt be applied: if a Debtor refuſes Payment, his Perſon or Goods muſt be ſeized.

Some Crimes not puniſhable.

But there are Vices of a black Dye, which ſubject the Guilty to no human Puniſhment; becauſe Laws extend only to thoſe Vices which immediately hurt Society: and therefore no Action at Law, will lie againſt Pride, Avarice, Envy, and ſuch odious Failings as prejudice none but the guilty Poſſeſſor. *Xenophon* indeed relates, that, among the ancient *Perſians*, Ingratitude was actionable: but it has been puniſhed in no other Nation. Nor could Puniſhment, in ſuch Caſes, produce any good Effect. Actions proceeding from bad Inclinations may be reſtrained by Force; but not the Appetite, or Inclination itſelf. We may with-hold the Hand of a determined Murderer; but not ſubdue his Intention to murder. Mental Failings are incorrigible by Coertion.

Correction to be adapted to the Crime.

A moral Philoſopher muſt imitate the Phyſician; enquire into the Nature of the Offence he would correct; and ſuit his Remedy to the particular Diſorder. To uſe the ſame Sermon in every Congregation, would be as improper as to uſe the ſame Book in every Claſs of a School. That Preacher gave a Specimen of his good Senſe, who, in the midſt of a pathetic Diſcourſe, made this Tranſition: "So much for the "Pews; I now direct myſelf to the Benches."

The moſt effectual Diſcourſes are thoſe beſt adapted to the Hearers. Some Orators, by means of ſhort, unelaborate, but properly adapted, Speeches, have obtained their End, much better than others by florid Harangues. Orations laboured after the Manner of *Demoſthenes*, *Tully*, or *Quintus Curtius*, would be loſt upon modern Aſſemblies; and a pointed Sentence, a Joke, or a Bluntneſs, produce much greater Effects. As Men have different Appetites, Paſſions, Cuſtoms, and Underſtandings; different Means muſt be uſed to affect them. For Example, Heretics, Fanatics, Atheiſts, and the Indifferent in Religion, are to be treated ſuitably to the Nature of their reſpective Caſes.

Heretics. (1.) Heretics are thoſe who believe a Doctrine true, which may be falſe. I reject the Diſtinction, commonly made, betwixt Heretics in Judgment, and Heretics in Free-Will; becauſe I cannot believe that Men would ever depend upon Doctrines, which they know to be damnable; and give up their Salvation in Sport. This monſtrous Opinion we neither ſhould, nor can entertain of any Man. By miſtaken Believers, I mean ſuch Perſons as, through the Perſuaſion of others, or the Weakneſs of their own Underſtandings, are involuntarily brought into Error. And I call thoſe Impoſtors, who, out of Pride, Lucre, or Self-Advantage, propagate Doctrines which they do not believe. In the primitive Chriſtian Church, none but ſuch Impoſtors were deemed Heretics; with whom no Communion was held: whilſt deluded Believers were looked upon

upon as weak Members of the Church, and rather pitied than hated.

How to be converted.

The Converſion of miſtaken Believers can neither be wrought, nor ſhould be attempted, by Power or Penalty. 'To endeavour the Converſion of a Heretic by Force, is as abſurd as to attempt ſtorming a Caſtle by Logic. It is not the Body of the Heretic we are to correct, but his wrong Notions; which feel no corporal Puniſhment. A Man may, by Stripes, be compelled to ſay he believes; but we cannot thereby really compell him to believe. A blind Man may be compelled to ſay he ſees; but no Beating will give him Eye-ſight. Weak Eyes muſt be cured by proper Applications, Sickneſs by ſuitable Remedies, and erroneous Opinions by Argument and Perſuaſion. Indeed the Puniſhments formerly uſed, and defended in Writing, for the Converſion of Heretics, begin to be thought ſo ſhameful, as to require a different Colouring; eſpecially ſince it appears, that harſh Procedure has here no other Effect, than turning erroneous Believers into abominable Hypocrites.

Toleration.

The *Perſian* King, *Schach Abas*, being informed that certain *Jews*, in his Dominions, had been compelled, or enticed, to change their Religion; he gave them Permiſſion to profeſs it again. The great *Ruſſian* Emperor carried this Matter ſo far, that ſome perhaps may cenſure him. He had a foreign Major-General in his Service, who, to gain the greater Favour, became a Convert to the *Greek* Church; upon which the *Czar* gave him his Diſmiſſion, in theſe Words: "If you

" are not true to God, in the Religion wherein " you was educated; can I expect you ſhould " prove true to me? Every Man may judge of this Behaviour as he pleaſes; I look upon it as an Ornament in the Hiſtory of the *Czar*.

This genuine Reformer has ſhewn, that Religious Differences are not inconſiſtent with the Tranquillity of a Country. Prudent Regulation in Religious Affairs, has produced as great Harmony at *Moſcow*, as Perſecution has raiſed Diſturbance in other Countries.

A well-grounded Toleration can have no bad Effects. But a well-grounded Toleration excludes all ſuch Intermixture of contending Parties, as Experience ſhews to be impracticable, or miſchievous. The *Utrecht* Paſtor miſtook the Thing, who had two oppoſite Congregations in the ſame Church; celebrated Maſs in the Morning, and preached a Calviniſtical Sermon in the Afternoon. Mr. *Locke* has laid down a Plan for a ſolid Toleration; ſo as to procure Tranquillity among a People conſiſting of different Sects.

Fanatics. (2.) It appears as hopeleſs to reclaim a Fanatic by Perſuaſion, as to convince a Heretic by Stripes. It is fruitleſs to diſpute, where Men are not agreed upon Principles. A Fanatic is ſingly guided by his own internal Motive, or Inſtinct, which he terms his Conſcience and his Call. He lays no Streſs upon his Underſtanding; and therefore it is idle to reaſon with him. A different kind of Cure is here required, from that to be uſed with a Heretic. A Phyſician, in this Caſe, may prove more

more ſucceſsful than a Divine. I take Fanaticiſm for a real Diſeaſe, or a kind of hypochondriacal Affection. Experience ſhews, that thoſe we commonly call the *Enlightened*, have uſually their Bodies overloaded with Bile, and corrupted Humours. Many Fanatics have been cured by Medicines, ſo as totally to loſe their Gift of Prophecy, their Calls, or their Commiſſions; and again become ſound Members of the Community.

Fanatics tell us, "We muſt obey God rather "than Man," which is true when taken in a proper Senſe: but the Fanatic frequently confounds the Will of God with his own Conceit; Conſcience with Weakneſs of Judgment; ſpiritual Calls with Phantaſms; Firmneſs with Obſtinacy; Piety and Devotion with Superſtition and Melancholy: and hence this excellent Maxim, from their Mouths, may deceive us. For, our obeying God rather than Man, ſhould be underſtood of what God expreſsly commands in his Word; and not of what Men may fancy, or find, or feel, in their own Spirit. There are different kinds of Spirits in the World; ſome good and ſome bad. No body is directed by a good Spirit, who, to follow his own Inclination, renounces and tramples upon the Laws both of God and Man.

Fanatics may be good Men, in declaring their Opinions freely; and practiſing what they take for their Duty; but they are ſuch good Men as can be leaſt tolerated in a State; becauſe they are not contented to believe their own Reveries; but frequently endeavour to regulate other Men's Conſciences according to their own: which is as

unfair, as a Gameſter's inſiſting upon that Card being Trump, of which he has moſt in his Hand.

I refrain from mentioning thoſe terrible Effects, which we have ſometimes ſeen produced by Fits of Fanaticiſm; for fear of touching too cloſely upon People, who might mean well, both to God and their Neighbour; and therefore deſerve Pity, rather than Perſecution. I barely ſay that, of all Sectaries, Fanatics are the leaſt to be tolerated in any Government. For tho' other Sectaries may be guilty of Error, yet they ſhew regard to Civil Society; join in Obedience to Governors; deſpiſe not the Laws of God, nor trample upon the Laws of Nature: whereas the Fanatic makes his own Conſcience his Law; and places a Merit in propagating it, or even dying a Martyr to it. For this Reaſon, Fanatics are unſuitable Subjects, with whom others cannot live ſafe in Society.

Suppoſe a tolerated Fanatic ſhould take another Man's Wife, and detain her as his own; excuſing himſelf that he acts according to his Conſcience, which tells him, "All Things are common a-"mong the Children of the Lord:" ſuch a Fanatic cannot be ſued at Law, with ſo great an Effect as an indifferent Citizen, who is bound by all the Laws of his Country. Nor can the Law itſelf here proceed, as with other Subjects, to examine and puniſh the Offender; but has, in ſome degree, tied up its own Hands, by giving a Right of Diſtinction to an Inhabitant, who makes his own ſeparate Conſcience his Rule of Action. Here my Toleration is not plenary; tho' I have a natural Compaſſion and Tenderneſs for Offenders of all Sorts.

In

In order to indulge Fanatics, as far as Safety will permit, they might have ſeparate Diſtricts aſſigned them; where their diſorderly Notions and Practices can do no Hurt.

Perhaps Laws for this Purpoſe, ſhould include certain *Catholics*, but particularly *Jeſuits*, who indulge no other Chriſtian Sect; and, wherever themſelves are indulged the Liberty of Settling, endeavour to propagate their own Opinions. Such People as hold it a Virtue to kill the Father, in order to bring the Son under Popiſh Dominion, cannot juſtly complain of being refuſed the Right of Proteſtant Subjects. Catholics.

The Objection is groundleſs, which has been made to certain Proteſtant Nations, on account of "tolerating Jews, and refuſing the Right of Subjects to Catholic Chriſtians:" for the Queſtion is not, who commit the greateſt Errors, *Jews* or *Catholics*; but which of them teach Doctrines contrary to the Nature of Government: and therefore the Motives to Excluſion, in this Caſe, ariſe not ſo much from Hatred, as Fear. In a beſieged Town, part of the Inhabitants are, by the Garriſon, juſtly driven out of the Place; for fear of Famine and Diſturbance. Princes dare not ſometimes permit a foreign Army to paſs through their Dominions. Of the like Nature are the Cautions practiſed by Proteſtants againſt Catholics; and may juſtly be defended againſt all the Objections of the *Jeſuits*.

(3.) Atheiſts are of two Sorts, Speculative and Practical. The Speculative are ſunk ſo deep into themſelves, as not only to deny a Revelation, but Atheiſts theoretical and practical.

How to be cured.

but even the Exiſtence of a God. They may be looked upon, in ſome Degree, as deluded Heretics; who, by bad Company, bad Books, and want of Judgment, are ſeduced into Diſbelief.

The practical Atheiſts are thoſe, who, leading a wicked Life, find their Solace in hoping there may be no God, no future Reward or Puniſhment. In the Cure of ſuch Profligates, neither Arguments nor Medicines have any Effect; ſo that Stripes and Puniſhment are the only Means we can uſe to correct them. And Experience ſhews, that ſuch kind of Diſcipline may ſucceed, when other Treatment has failed.

To cure the Speculative Atheiſt, nothing ſhould be uſed but Diſcourſe or Writing; for as he might have been led into Diſbelief by plauſible Writing, or Diſcourſe; there are Hopes of reclaiming him by ſound Doctrine, and prudent Exhortation. With this View, a Speculative Atheiſt may, for ſome time, be tolerated in a Republic; but a perpetual Indulgence muſt needs be improper. I cannot agree, with Mr. *Bayle*, that a good Republic may be compoſed of Atheiſts; becauſe an Atheiſt, who allows no God but his own Pride or Advantage, will not ſcruple to commit the worſt of Crimes, provided he can be concealed from Men.

It is no wonder that Atheiſts ſhould be converted to Religion; but that any Man ſhould attempt to convert the Religious to Atheiſm, is aſtoniſhing. With what Zeal will ſome People endeavour to deſtroy the Belief of others; yet acknowledge

acknowledge no Risk can be run by retaining it? They who plead for Infidelity, acknowledge it has no Advantages to recommend it. Superstitious Zeal is culpable; but infidel Zeal is ridiculous. A superstitious Zealot has the Pretence of communicating a saving Faith; and, in the Heat of his Zeal, will sometimes persecute; as thinking the Soul is to be saved by it. This Procedure is intelligible: but a converting Atheist has no Excuse to alledge. He would propagate his Opinion, yet owns it is barren. He tempts and entices, but has nothing to give. He takes Pains to make Proselytes, yet bids them expect no Reward. Suppose a Serjeant should employ his Rhetoric to raise Recruits, and declare he had no Listing-Money to give; no Pay to promise? Let his Speech be ever so artful, no body could think it sensible. The Zeal of a converting Atheist is Folly of the first Magnitude. He is like a mad Gamester, who sweats, and boxes the Dice about all Day long, but plays for nothing.

I disapprove of Severity to those who err unwillingly. I make a Difference in the Punishment of the Deluded; and would have no body suffer for Opinions; but be restrained from spreading such Doctrines as may hurt Society. An Atheist who endeavours to propagate Unbelief, so as to sap the Foundation of Government, ought, in my Opinion, to be banished. If any zealous *Monk*, or *Jesuit*, attempt, among us, to subvert the Religion established, he ought to receive the *Consilium abeundi*. A zealous Anabaptist, who

who holds it ſinful to puniſh with Death, may be depoſed from the Office of a Judge. A Quaker, who holds Defenſive War unlawful, ſhould not command a Frontier.

I am at Peace with all who mean well towards God and their Neighbour. We look upon thoſe as Brethren who agree with us in external Profeſſions of Faith; but ſhould rather eſteem thoſe ſuch, who agree with us in Virtue and Piety; tho' they may hold certain Opinions contrary to ours. No right-intentioned Man ſhould be reviled or perſecuted: for tho' he may err, it is unknowingly, or unwillingly; and if he endeavours after Truth, or is ready to hear and conſider the Arguments of others, he ſhould be cheriſhed and encouraged. They are inhumane who cenſure and condemn their Neighbour, merely for his want of Capacity to underſtand a Propoſition. No good Man will trample upon Juſtice and Equity; or, in Zeal for Orthodoxy, run headlong into Faction.

Infidelity. The compelling of Infidels, by Pains and Penalties, to ſubſcribe Articles of Faith; the obliging them verbally to renounce, or, under their Hands, to condemn, or retract, whatever they may have ſpoke, or wrote, againſt certain Points of Divinity; the forcing, or over-perſuading ſuch Perſons publicly to declare themſelves Believers, are all Means unſuitable to the End propoſed; and rather ſerve to propagate Infidelity, than promote Religion and Virtue: becauſe the Mind is thereby imbittered, and a Suſpicion raiſed of Weakneſs in the Doctrines of Revelation. For, Men are not

not accuſtomed to uſe Force, when Argument will prevail.

(4.) True Religion conſiſts in the Love of God; and to force Love by Power, is not only an impracticable, but a pernicious Attempt; as we ſee in all Inſtances. A falſe Wife may, by rigorous Means, be brought to ſay ſhe loves her Huſband; or an undutiful Son his Parents; but ſuch harſh Means turn Indifference into Averſion, and not into Love. Coolneſs in Religion.

There is no Way of conquering Indifference in Religion, but by proper Inſtruction, and Example. The Miſſionary who catechizes with the Rod in his Hand, does not make ſuch good Converts as the mild and gentle Paſtor. For, if once we take an Averſion to our Teachers, we are apt to transfer it to the Doctrines taught. Imprudent Severity makes the ſmarting Diſciple hate his Learning: but Good-Nature and Sweetneſs in the Maſter make the Boys love both him and their Books. How cured.

Teachers, to promote the Cauſe of Religion and Virtue, can uſe nothing more effectual than Example. If a Phyſician, in his own Caſe, refuſes to take the ſame Medicine he preſcribes to others, we can have no Confidence in him. A contentious Man makes few Converts to Peace. A proud, covetous, or debauched Preacher may deliver excellent Diſcourſes in praiſe of Humility, Generoſity, and Sobriety, without making a ſingle Convert. The Hearers look upon ſuch a Preacher as a Brother-Sufferer, ſick of the ſame Diſeaſe. *Non magis prodeſt talis Præceptor,*

Præceptor, quam Gubernator in Tempeſtate nauſeabundus. "Such Teachers are of as little Service "in a State, as Sea-ſick Pilots in a Ship." When a vicious Preacher cenſures Vice, his Congregation thinks he is joking. He may exclaim and denounce as much as he pleaſes, in hopes of prevailing; but he convinces no Mortal of the Wickedneſs of his Ways, nor makes one Sinner repent.

VI.

How Poſts may be well filled; and the Public well ſerved.

Wrong Deſtinations of Men.

THERE are many Failings, or Diſqualifications, in Men, not owing to any Defect of Underſtanding, or of Parts; but to the Want of directing them ſuitably to what they are. It would be hard to ſhew that all Capacities are equipollent; but I preſume few Men would be found unſerviceable, if placed in their natural Stations.

Societies for examining the Capacities of Youth.

It might prove a moſt uſeful Inſtitution, if Societies were erected, whoſe Office it ſhould be to examine the Genius of young People; in order to diſcover wherein their Strength conſiſts, and to what kind of Studies, Employments, or Poſts, they are naturally beſt ſuited. For, by this Means moſt Subjects might become beneficial to the Public; and all the Poſts of Government be well ſupplied: whereas, we now hear daily Complaints of

the want of proper Perſons to direct Affairs, in moſt of the *European* Countries; whilſt the Youth of each Country are condemned to Studies, and matriculated into certain Arts, or Employments, before they arrive at Years of Diſcretion.

Children not to be forced.

Some Parents, ſoon after the Birth of a Boy, will give him the Title of the Poſt, or Occupation, for which they intend him. But herein they ſeldom judge right; and it is owing to ſomething extraordinary, if ſuch blind Schemes ſhould ſucceed. The Father ſometimes deſigns his Son for a Judge, becauſe the Grandfather was one: which may be as abſurd, as to deſtine a weakly Child for a Racer; or a purblind Boy for a Painter. Tho' nothing is more ridiculous, yet nothing is more common than this Procedure. And if we examine into Families, we ſhall find moſt Parents uſurp this Privilege; but eſpecially the Mother. We frequently hear the Huſband ſay, "I would have my Son a Lawyer; but his Mo-" ther has reſolved to make him a Parſon."

Nor predeſtined to Profeſſions.

Certain Parents deſtine their Children to an Office, or Profeſſion, on account of Size, or Stature. When we hear of ſuch Deſigns, we are apt to ſmile: and what can be more abſurd than to lay a Lad out for a Colonel, becauſe he is tall or luſty; or deſign him for an Alderman, becauſe he has a large Belly? Whilſt ſuch Abſurdities prevail, and Children are deſtined to the Office, or Profeſſion, of their Parents, before an Opportunity can be had of ſeeing whether they have a Genius for it; we need not wonder that States ſhould

ſhould be at a Loſs for well qualified Men, to fill up the neceſſary Poſts of Government; or that ſo many weak People ſhould be found in great Offices.

Whence a general Want of able Men.

I know this Misfortune is generally aſcribed to the natural Decay of a Country, or its growing ſo barren, as not to produce able Men: but the Soil, the Climate, and the Air, cannot be juſtly blamed. The Barrenneſs ariſes merely from Folly, Neglect of Education, and the Want of a proper Choice and Direction. Governors and Parents ſhould follow the Example of Huſbandmen, who try and examine the Nature of their Land, before they ſow it; for the beſt Seed may be thrown away, upon improper Ground: and when the Crop fails, it is not ſo much the Fault of the Seed, or the Soil, as of the Sower. Great Care ſhould be taken of Children, who are the Plants of a Community: and if this were really done, every Country would be ſupplied with Perſons properly qualified for all the Employments and Stations of Life.

The Fault of Parents.

The Want of able Men ariſes partly from the wrong Management of Parents; and partly from a Neglect in the Adminiſtration. The Fault of Parents conſiſts in endeavouring to force a Child's Nature: which is the Way to turn an uſeful into an uſeleſs Subject; or make a Perſon, who might have been an Honour, become a Diſgrace, to his Country. A Judge, who is laughed at upon the Bench, might have made a good General; if his natural Genius had not been dragged to the Bar. What is once ſtamped for a Shilling

Shilling, will not paſs current for a Guinea. We may give what external Stamps we pleaſe; they do not alter the internal Nature of Things. If Children reſembled their Parents in mental Endowments, as they ſometimes do in external Appearance, this Practice might prove harmleſs to Society: but ſince Experience ſhews, that Children's Minds are often as unlike thoſe of their Parents, as their Bodies are like; it is improper, and even fooliſh, in Parents, to make their Children purſue the ſame Studies, or Employments, which they follow, or approve, for themſelves. And, on this Account, the *Chineſe* are deſervedly cenſured, for obliging every Son to follow the Profeſſion of his Father.

Children are not to be treated like young Brutes. A Hound may, immediately after it is whelped, be juſtly enrolled in the Kennel; and a Gun-Dog be bred up with the Spaniels; becauſe Experience ſhews, that theſe Puppies poſſeſs the Qualities of the Breed they come from. But how often do we ſee, among Men, that a Fool ſhall deſcend from a wiſe Man; a Coward from a Hero, and *vice verſâ? Aridæus* and *Alexander* were Brothers; but very unlike in their Talents. It may ſeem needleſs to produce Examples of this kind from Hiſtory; ſince common Obſervation ſupplies us with Plenty.

Children not to be judged of from their Parents.

King *Antigonus* deſired to take the famous Philoſopher *Bion Boryſtenites* into the Royal Retinue; but aſked him previouſly, whether he came of a good Family: *Bion* replied, "My "Father was branded in the Forehead; he mar-

" ried my Mother out of a Brothel; and was " afterwards expelled the City as a Malefactor. " But thou, O King, mayeſt rather examine what " I am, than what my Parents were. If your Ma- " jeſty wants a Markſman, you do not aſk him " whether his Father was a Markſman; but try " whether the Son can ſhoot."

Children's natural Talents to be diſcovered.

As it is common for Children to degenerate from their Parents; I judge, that the parental Power ſhould here be reſtrained: becauſe every Man has not a Capacity to judge what Occupation is fitteſt for his Son; and becauſe Fathers have ſeldom the Deſign of placing their Sons in their moſt natural Situation; but rather endeavour to make them obedient, and ſerviceable to the Family, than to ſupply the State with uſeful Subjects: Parents therefore ſhould maintain and ſupport their Children; but the Government appoint their Inſtruction, and Training.

But, in our Schools, the different Scholars have one and the ſame Taſk propoſed them; and are all inſtructed after one and the ſame Manner; which occaſions the greateſt Diſproportion and Diſſimilarity in the Learners; ſome whereof ſhall hence be extolled as Prodigies of Parts; and others be looked upon as Abortives, incapable of coming to Good: tho' they might all be good, provided each acted in his ſuitable Sphere.

I remember two Boys at School, upon whom no Inſtruction, or Correction, took effect; ſo that they were both diſmiſſed, with Diſgrace. They went to the Capital, applied themſelves to Mathematics, and became great Mathematicians. Nature, it ſeems, had furniſhed them with ſound

Under-

Underſtandings, but weak Memories; and therefore, whilſt their Employment at School conſiſted in conſtruing their Leſſons, or getting Scraps of *Latin* and *Greek* by Heart, their Memories failed them; but when they came to Mathematics, a Study that requires the Exerciſe of the Reaſon more than the Memory, theſe ſtupid Boys were preſently changed into able Men. A Gentleman deſiring a Philoſopher to direct him what kind of Study he ſhould purſue; the Philoſopher adviſed him "to follow Nature;" thereby admoniſhing him to examine his own natural Talents, and apply to ſuch Sciences as he found himſelf beſt fitted for. But this capital Rule is generally neglected, even by ſenſible People; who thereby croſs and confound the Deſigns of Nature; and bury, or ſuppreſs, the Talents which ſhe has given us for our Strength and Ornament; whilſt Brutes, by Inſtinct, exerciſe thoſe Parts of their Bodies, wherein their Force and Defence conſiſt.

If thy Son be more diligent than ingenious, bring him up to an Art or Trade, rather than to Philoſophy or Divinity; becauſe it is better, and more reputable, to be a good Painter, or Architect, than an ordinary Philoſopher, or Divine; better to be an able Farmer, than a heavy Senator. Perhaps, as your Son is of a good Family, you may think it too mean to make him a Tradeſman: but then conſider which is more honourable, a ſerviceable Mechanic, or an incapable Scholar. Laudable Ambition conſiſts in filling a Poſt, or ſuſtaining a Character, with Reputation.

The Neglect of Governors.

The Miſchief is heightened by Governors; who confer Offices more out of Affection and Party, than Reaſon and Juſtice. This is fatal: for tho' a Country ſhould abound with Perſons of great natural Abilities, ſuch a prepoſterous Management would not ſuffer one to appear; but render them all incapable. If an able Artiſt be made a weak Senator; or if a good Senator be unſuitably made a Judge; ſuch a Metamorphoſis turns two uſeful Men into noxious Animals. The beſt Set of Comedians may act odiouſly, if they change Parts; and yet the Actors not be blameable, but their Directors. Indeed the Managers of Theatres are careful in the Diſtribution of Parts; ſo as to make each Player ſhine in his Character. But tho' this be well obſerved on the Stage, it is ſtrangely neglected in the World. *An Hiſtrio hoc videbit in Scenâ, quod Sapiens non videbit in Vitâ?*

Antiſthenes remarked the like Diſorder and Confuſion, in his Time, at *Athens*; and therefore petitioned the Government, to publiſh an Order for "turning all Horſes into Aſſes." Every one was ſurprized at ſuch a Petition; but he alledged, that "ſuch Changes happened every "Day amongſt Men:" thus giving them to underſtand, that Places were diſpoſed of without regard to Men's Qualifications; ſo that one Man was made a Judge without a Head, and another a General without a Heart.

Few Men of general Genius.

We cannot call a Trump in Life, as we do at Cards. Set a Man in any Station, or ſtyle him as you pleaſe, he remains the ſame Man. It is beſt

beſt to employ every Man in the Way of his Abilities; without regard to his State or Condition, his Birth or Religion. If we want a Phyſician, we do not enquire for one that is learned; but for one that is ſkilful. Indeed there are ſome univerſal Geniuſes, who have a Turn for all the Sciences: but their Number is ſmall; and the moſt of them uſually ſuperficial; or rarely ſo knowing in a Subject, as thoſe who wholly apply to it.

A Probation Office wanted.

I therefore repeat, that "nothing can be "of greater Utility to a Country, than the pro- "per Inſtitution of a College, or Office, con- "ſiſting of capable Men, appointed to examine "the natural Talents, and Capacities, of young "People; and make a Report what Studies, "Occupations, and Buſineſs, they find each "Perſon naturally beſt ſuited for." But theſe Judges muſt be prudently choſe, as Men of Experience, Sagacity, and Weight; becauſe their Office is momentous, and requires Talents rarely to be found in mere Scholars, or Fellows of Colleges.

The Scheme may be difficult to bring into Execution; yet I judge it not impracticable. The Probation, in ſuch a Seminary, might be continued in a Variety of Trials; till it plainly appeared wherein the reſpective Strength of each Pupil conſiſted. As Matters are managed at preſent, Youth ſpend the beſt Part of their Time in the learning of ſuch Things as they ought to forget; ſo that after their Academical Studies are finiſhed, they uſually apply themſelves to ſuch Subjects as ſuit their Genius, or Inclination.

Loſs of Time at Schools.

What a miſerable Loſs of Time is this? The Prime of our Lives for the learning of what ſhould be uſeful to ourſelves and others, a Seaſon never to be recalled, is thus irretrievably loſt!

That a Foundation, to prevent this ſhocking Loſs both of public and private Happineſs, is practicable, appears from the old *Perſian* Laws; which provided, that no Parents ſhould, at their own Pleaſure, inſtruct their Children; but be obliged to ſend them to public Seminaries, inſtituted for the Purpoſe; from whence they did not return to their Parents, till the Age of Seventeen. Indeed the Care of thoſe Seminaries was not committed to Men who taught for Hire; but intruſted to the Direction and Management of Perſons diſtinguiſhed by their Virtue, and Birth; who inſtructed their Pupils more in Manners than the Sciences; more in Morality and the Duties of Life, than in Logic or Rhetoric.

VII.

Of good Government.

What the beſt kind of Government.

IT has long been debated what kind of Government is moſt productive of Happineſs to a Country. Some hold *Monarchy* beſt ſuited to this End, as coming neareſt to the Patriarchical Government, in which the Heads of Families ruled without Controul. Indeed, the firſt Governments appear to have been Monarchical: for Kings ſucceeded the Patriarchs. But ſome of

Monarchy.

theſe

theſe early Kings making a bad Uſe of their Power; Societies found it neceſſary to reſtrain them by Law: wherein conſiſts the Difference betwixt Abſolute and Limited Government. Abſolute and limited Government.

Under limited Government, the more wealthy Citizens ſhared in the Adminiſtration; which proving a moſt agreeable Thing to them, they endeavoured to curb and weaken Kingly Authority; and to extend and confirm their own. Their Attempts were ſo ſucceſsful, that Regal Power dwindled by Degrees, and at length vaniſhed. This proved the Origin of *Ariſtocracy:* wherein the rich and powerful Gentry became poſſeſſed of Sovereign Authority. The People received this Alteration contentedly at firſt; as thinking it hard that a whole Country ſhould be governed by the Will of a ſingle Perſon: and the Gentry, or what we now call the Nobility, encouraged and confirmed the People in this Opinion, by exclaiming againſt Monarchy; which they painted in ſuch black Colours, as rendered the very Name odious and terrible. Ariſtocracy.

But, the People afterwards finding this Change of Government proceeded more from Pride in the Nobility, than from any Deſire of promoting the Good of Communities; and that, inſtead of one King, twenty petty Princes ruled them; they grew uneaſy, and introduced ſuch an Equality, as gave every Citizen a Share in the Adminiſtration. This was the Origin of *Democracy*; under which the whole People aſſembled, to conſult of Peace and War, Democracy.

Laws, and Edicts; and to give their Voices on all important Occaſions.

Certain Countries grew ſo fond of this popular Rule, that they endeavoured to ſupport it with their utmoſt Might: but here alſo it came to be obſerved, in Time, that *Democracy* was as liable to Inconveniencies, as the other Forms of Government; and that the old Diſeaſe remained, tho' under a different Shape. For, this Power, or Liberty, ſo much coveted by the People, occaſioned Cabals, Parties, Factions, and Civil-Wars.

Anarchy. Indeed all rigid Governments may change to *Anarchy*, or no Government at all; which is the greateſt Misfortune that can happen to a People: and it has often been found neceſſary to introduce Arbitrary Sway, in order to reſtore the ancient Strength and Form to a Country, and prevent its Ruin. And hence the Queſtion, "Which "kind of Government is beſt for the People?" remains undecided to this Day.

All prudent Government good. It appears to me, that the Strength and Happineſs of a People depend not upon any particular Form of Government; but upon the Nature of the Governors. A prudent and juſt Adminiſtration will always produce good Government; whether the Power be lodged in a ſingle Hand, or in many. Countries have ſoon flouriſhed, and ſoon decayed, under one and the ſame Form of Government. *Rome* under Kingly Adminiſtration, quickly grew ſtrong, and quickly weak. Under the Great Council it at firſt ſtood firm, but ſickened preſently after. The ſame Changes it alſo ſuffered under the Government of the People. The very

very Liberty which gives Being to a State at one Time, threatens it with Deſtruction at another. When a *Romulus*, an *Auguſtus*, a *Trajan*, or an *Antonine*, ſits upon the Throne, no Government is better than the Monarchical. When an *Ariſtocracy* is compoſed of ſuch Men as *Valerius*, *Fabricius*, *Cato*, or other virtuous Patriots, the People are happy. The Form of Government in *England* has remained unaltered for theſe hundred Years; and been propped up to a Wonder: yet it is obſervable that *England*, under the ſame kind of Government, has been ſometimes powerful and flouriſhing; and ſoon after reduced to the Brink of Ruin. The Crown is now ſettled upon the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, as it was upon the Line of *Stuart*. The Kingdom is now ſtrong, and almoſt unanimous, that before was ſubject to all Sorts of Diſturbances. But ſtrong Ships may ſtrike upon Rocks, if Pilots are unſkilful. To what End ſerve Riches and Strength in a Country, if Governors know not how to uſe them? And to what Purpoſe are good Laws enacted, if their Execution be neglected?

It was not any particular Form of Government that rendered the *Lacedemonians* happy; or gave them the Advantage over the reſt of *Greece*. The Excellence of *Lycurgus* did not conſiſt in tempering Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy together, and thereby preſerving a Balance of Dominion. Many other States have done this, with equal Prudence, yet without becoming one Jot the happier. I do not eſteem *Lycurgus* for eſtabliſhing any particular Government; but for his Prudence,

Prudence, in depriving the Governors of all Opportunity, and even the Will, or Deſire, of abuſing their Authority, and acting wrong. This, perhaps, may be called impoſſible; ſince we cannot be certain, that Governors ſhall always be prudent; or that Virtue and Senſe ſhall deſcend by Inheritance. But tho' Experience ſhews, that good and bad Governors happen interchangeably; I think it practicable to make Virtue hereditary in Princes.

It is well known, that in *Lacedemon*, the ſucceeding Governors were almoſt conſtantly virtuous, like the preceding: which was owing to the original Foundation of their Government; whereby the Virtue and true Patriotiſm, ſo deeply rooted in the Hearts of the firſt Founders, were propagated to their Succeſſors.

The old Egyptian Government.

In ancient *Egypt* the Kingdom was hereditary, and the Power of their Kings, (who were eſteemed more as Gods than Men,) uncontroulable. They moſt ſacredly and inviolably obſerved the Laws; and never departed from the virtuous Practices of their Predeceſſors. Every Morning, they read the Papers delivered in to illuſtrate and explain all Matters of State, upon which Judgment was to be given. They next went to the Temple to pray; where the High-Prieſt held a Diſcourſe upon the Duty of a King; and pointed out Failures in the Government. Theſe Diſcourſes were ſo conducted, as to let no Blame fall upon the Monarch; but only upon his Miniſters. And the Kings of *Egypt* never received theſe Admonitions ungraciouſly;

it

it being a ſettled Law, and Cuſtom, of the Country, from its firſt Foundation, to hear them favourably. Their Kings, being in this Manner conſtantly excited to their Duty, became the moſt virtuous Perſons of the whole Country; ſo that very few indifferent or bad Princes were ever found among them. When a bad Prince happened, he was not ſet aſide; but the public Judgment paſſed upon him after his Deceaſe: which had ſuch an Effect, that *Egypt* was rarely ill governed. Almoſt all their Kings were internally and affectionately beloved by their Subjects; who bewailed and lamented their Death, with as much real Sorrow, as Children do the Death of their Parents. And hence it may appear, that it is poſſible, by ſenſible and judicious Inſtitutions and Regulations, to make Virtue hereditary in Princes.

The ancient Peruvian Government.

The Founder of the ancient *Peruvian* Government, *Ynca Manco Capac*, had no formed Deſign of following any artificial Plan: his principal View was to imprint a deep Notion of Virtue in his Succeſſors. To effect this, he gave himſelf out to be a Son, and his Wife a Daughter of the Sun; and laid the ſtricteſt Injunctions on his Deſcendants, to marry only with thoſe of the ſame ſublime Original; for fear of ſtaining their high Blood, or loſing of their innate Dignity and Virtue. This Injunction, being eagerly embraced by the Royal Family, was eſtabliſhed as an inviolable Law. And hence the Succeſſors of *Manco Capac*, (finding it neceſſary to avoid Enormities, in order to keep up the Veneration of the People to the Royal Line,) never deviated into Vice,

Vice, and rendered the *Peruvian* Government the happieſt we have any Account of.

Manco Capac pretending he was ſent from Heaven, on purpoſe to introduce Virtue on Earth, endeavoured, by prudent Admonition and virtuous Example, rather than Force, to win over the wild Natives of the Southern *America*. If mild perſuaſive Methods failed, he tried to reduce them by cutting off their Proviſions, or Means of Subſiſtance. When they were brought to Straits and Neceſſities, he repreſented to them the Happineſs of the other Part of the People, who had ſubmitted to his Government. And theſe very Means being uſed by all his Succeſſors; a great Tract of *South-America* was brought under their Dominion. No wild Native repented of becoming a Subject to ſuch a Government, where nothing but Virtue appeared, both in Prince and People; and where the Sway was ſo gentle, that the Governors behaved as Parents, and the People as Children.

The Hiſtory of *Guanacava*, the laſt of the *Yncas* of this Kingdom, ſhews how affectionately theſe Kings were beloved by their Subjects. *Guanacava* was engaged in an Expedition, with his Army, to *Quinto*, in order to reduce the Country; the Road to which was almoſt impracticable, on account of high Rocks, and deep Valleys; but having happily reduced *Quinto*, his Subjects, to facilitate his Return, voluntarily undertook the immenſe Labour of levelling the Road, by cutting thro' the Rocks, and filling up the Valleys, for many hundred Miles together.

ther. And finding their King took Delight in this Province, they voluntarily and chearfully made a new Road, with the ſame Labour and Difficulty, on the other Side, that he might have the Pleaſure of going by the one, and returning by the other: both which he conſtantly found ſtrewed with green Branches, and freſh Flowers. I paſs over other Manifeſtations of the tender Regard which the *Peruvians* had for their Kings, and the numerous Particulars which ſhew how happy they both were in ſuch a paternal Government. It is ſcarce poſſible to read, without Tears, that ſuch a Country as this ſhould be ravaged and deſtroyed by the *Spaniards*. Nothing can be more moving and afflicting, than to ſee ſavage *Europeans* go about to reform a People, who ſet them a genuine Example of Virtue, worthy of Imitation.

We find nothing complicated in the *Peruvian* Government: the Country was entirely ſubject to Deſpotic Power. The Wiſdom of the Founder improved it only in the ſingle Point of eradicating Vice from among the Rulers; and planting Virtue in its Stead, ſo deep that they neither had the Power nor the Will to efface it. And the Effect would probably have been the ſame, tho' the Government had been of a different Form, and the Prince had been aſſiſted by the Nobles, or called a Parliament. Indeed I ſhould not adviſe other Founders to uſe the ſame Means as *Manco Capac* did; becauſe he built upon an unwarranted and fabulous Pretenſion. But other laudable Means might be uſed for the ſame Purpoſe, capable of producing

producing as good Effects. And hence I infer, that none of the common Forms of Government, mentioned by *Ariſtotle*, can be called perfect; that each of them has its Inconveniencies; and that a prudent and virtuous Adminiſtration, alone, can render a People happy.

The Office, Glory, and Honour of Princes.

It might next be proper to ſpeak of the Duty of a Prince. This is certainly no Subject for a juvenile Writer, unverſed in Hiſtory, or unſkilled in the Management of his own Affairs. Such Perſons are often eager to dictate upon the Nature of Government. And tho' my Age, Reading, and Obſervation, might, in ſome meaſure, qualify me for the Taſk; yet I dare not venture upon it; but reſign it into the Hands of venerable, virtuous, and experienced Stateſmen, who alone are qualified to write, with ſuitable Weight and Dignity, on ſo momentous a Subject. I only preſume that every Kingdom may juſtly be called happy, where the Prince duly conſiders who he is, or to what purpoſe ordained; that the Country he governs, is rather a Truſt than an Inheritance; that his Subjects are to be regarded as his Children; that he belongs more to the Country, than the Country to him; that he is appointed a Pattern to the People; that he is entruſted with their Happineſs; and that the Great Judge of all Things will examine how every Prince has diſcharged his Duty, when his Life and Office ſhall expire together.

The true Greatneſs and Happineſs of a Prince are inſeparable from the Greatneſs and Happineſs of his People. Every Prince ſhould bear this infallible

fallible Truth in Mind, That He and his Subjects are one Body; where the ſmalleſt Part cannot ſuffer but the whole muſt be hurt. Indeed the Prince may be compared to the Soul, which animates the Body; yet is but a Part incapable of operating, unleſs the other Parts co-operate with him. When Matters really go well with the King, they really go well with the People, and *vice verſâ*. If a due Temper be not preſerved; if either the King or People gain any ſeparate Aſcendant, or Advantage, the whole Structure is in Danger; and, unleſs timely remedied, muſt fall.

Conſtant Experience ſhews, that the primary Honour and Felicity of Princes conſiſt in preſerving this Harmony; and not in high Station, Power, or extenſive Dominions, which are all nothing without it; and that the juſt and right Execution of their divine Office is their greateſt Glory, and ſincereſt Joy. Their high Station generally obliges them to lead a conſtrained Life. Great Power, and Extent of Territory, are an Incumbrance, and a Burthen: but the Conſciouſneſs of faithfully diſcharging their Duty, and endeavouring to render their Subjects happy, is the true Solace of the Labours and Sufferings of Princes.

Players, who repreſent both Kings and Subjects, have their Parts aſſigned them; and whether the Part be high or low, they endeavour to play it well; knowing that the Applauſe which good Actors receive, is not given to the Part they act, but to their juſt Performance. What a Prince enjoys by

by Birth, or Accident, is no Honour of his own acquiring, and can give him no great Joy; but if he is conſcious that, by promoting his own true Happineſs and Welfare, he actually promotes the Happineſs and Welfare of his Subjects; this will afford him real Pleaſure, and ſolid Satisfaction. Then he may juſtly ſay with *Auguſtus*, at his Departure, *Plaudite!*

Princes are called Fathers of their Country; and may juſtly merit that glorious Title by never attempting to build their own Happineſs on any other Foundation than the Happineſs of their People. When Subjects are once convinced that ſuch Paternal Affection is born them by their Prince, they will riſk their Lives to oblige him; and voluntarily perform more than they could be conſtrained to do by Power. Diſcontent will be turned to Joy, Coolneſs to Love, Reluctance to Obedience, and Vice to Virtue. Princes actually have the Power of changing bad Subjects into good. *Nicanor* long railed againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, and his Government; till *Philip* enquiring into the Cauſe; and finding it owing to narrow Circumſtances; a Preſent was made, which occaſioned *Nicanor* to be as liberal of his Praiſe as he had been of his Blame: upon which the King ſaid before his Courtiers, "You ſee the "Power of Princes."

The Government of Hungary.

Hiſtory ſhews, by numerous Examples, that a good Prince may re-caſt his People, and give them another Form, as if their very Natures were changed, by Goodneſs. Let us compare the preſent with the former State of *Hungary*; while the

the People long remained discontented with their Rulers. But as soon as the present Queen ascended the Throne, and gave her Subjects Proof of her maternal Affection to them, they were so wonderfully transformed as to be no longer like their former selves. Their Aversion and Opposition to the Government changed into the warmest Affection; their Jealousy and Distrust, into Confidence and Assurance; and their Timidity into Courage and Ardour. A People who had so often turned their Backs upon the Enemies of the Empire, is now a Check to the greatest Potentates of *Europe*; and a despised Nation become an Honour to the North. This surprizing Change was not the Effect of artful Laws, new Regulations, or any Alteration in the Form of Government; but was produced by the single Virtue of the Queen, in maternally uniting herself to her People. She publicly spoke these Words: "I will "be your Mother, if you will be my Children." This Overture, followed by convincing Proofs of Affection, entirely abolished all former Distrust; added fresh Vigour to the weak *Hungarians*; and gave them new Life and Being. May this, for the future, be esteemed the true Rule of Government! It certainly had such a quickening Virtue, such an enlivening Effect, that every Citizen, every Townsman, was spirited up, beyond their ordinary Strength, to support her Measures; insomuch that it was a Contention betwixt Father and Son, which of them should have the Honour and Happiness to venture his Life for so dear a Queen.

Doubtleſs, ſo long as her Imperial Majeſty obſerves this charming State-Rule, her People will not be exceeded by any other in Virtue, Courage, and Fidelity: but if ſhe ſhould deviate from it, follow the Examples of ſome of her Predeceſſors, give Ear to the Councils of certain Prieſts, or ſuffer Jeſuits to cool her motherly Affection towards her People; who have given ſuch Demonſtrations of their Love to her Adminiſtration; and deſire no other Reward than Liberty of Conſcience; if this, I ſay, ſhould ever be the Caſe, the People would preſently relapſe into their former weak and piteous State; we ſhould again hear of nothing but Contentions, Diſturbances, Conſpiracies, and Deſpair from that Quarter; nay her Subjects would apply to the Enemies of their Country, and ſeek to be defended from her Government, even by Mahometans. But this is a Thing never to be ſuſpected; and therefore the preſent Form of Government in *Hungary* may be called excellent; becauſe the Head and the Limbs are firmly knit together; and all the Parts of this political Body ſo cloſely united, that the Happineſs of the Country is provided for as the Happineſs of a ſingle Perſon. The Treaſury of the Queen is looked upon, by her Subjects, as the Bank of the Public; wherein every Member has his Share: and every Citizen looks upon his own Property as her's, or a Treaſure ſet apart for her Uſe, when Occaſion calls for it.

My

My Design is not to depreciate Acts of Settlement, or fundamental Laws of Government, as any way useless or unnecessary. I admire the noble Institutions of several Founders and Law-givers; and acknowledge their Use: but I say, that the Inconveniencies of Society cannot be removed, unless prudent, just, and experienced Governors sit at the Helm. The very best Laws are no more than a dead Letter, if not brought into Action. State-Failings may be laid open to public View, by new Laws and Regulations; but cannot be rectified, so long as great personal Vices remain in a Ministry. *Solon* and *Lycurgus* founded two famous Republics. The Laws of *Solon* were good, and well grounded; but the *Athenian* State was still subject to the same Weaknesses as before; and fell to Pieces even in the Life-time of its Founder; who regarded the Building more than the Support; the Ship and the Rudder more than the Steersman. *Lycurgus* took less Pains than *Solon*, in the making of good Laws; but greater in bringing them into perpetual Use; which cannot be effected without the Aid of perpetually virtuous Ministers, who neither have the Power, nor the Will, to be vicious. And here lay the Master-piece of *Lycurgus*; which had such an Effect, that *Lacedemon* continued in an uninterrupted flourishing State, for hundreds of Years, without being liable to Alteration.

The Execution of good Laws, promotes Happiness.

To repeat it again, all Sorts of Government are good, when the Adminiſtration is virtuous, prudent, and ſuitable to the Country. Abſolute *Monarchy* may promote the Happineſs of a People as well as an *Ariſtocracy* or *Democracy*. Nor is there any Neceſſity for a *Salique* Law; ſince Female Reigns may be happy: of which, among others, we have two ſhining Examples in Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and Queen *Margaret* of *Denmark*.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of Religion and Revelation.

I.

Of Virtue and Vice.

VIRTUES and Vices ever remain what they are, tho' their Names change with Places, Times, and Perſons. What is often called Senſe in one Country, is called Want of Underſtanding in another; what in ſome Republics is called Patriotiſm, paſſes for Diſaffection in certain Kingdoms; what is held true in one Nation, appears falſe in another; and certain Countries call that Faith, which in others is called Superſtition. Hence Virtues are treated

Local Virtues and Vices.

as local Things, or received Opinions reſpecting the Place they prevail in.

Temporary Virtues.

With regard to Times, Virtues and Vices may ſeem faſhionable Things. An approved Cuſtom in one Age, appears abſurd in another; and a favourite Faſhion at one Time, proves diſagreeable at another. Pyracy was formerly eſteemed a Virtue; but Free-Booters, at preſent, are puniſhable with Death. Duelling has heretofore been ordered by the Government; but in later Times is reſtrained by Law. There are numerous Cuſtoms, which, whether they ſhould be called Virtues or Vices, is hard to determine. Certain Actions are eſteemed virtuous or vicious at preſent; but when the Faſhion alters they will change their Names.

Perſonal Virtues.

Virtues and Vices alſo differ, in public Eſteem, according to the Perſons who practiſe them. When two Men do the ſame Thing, it is not always the ſame Caſe; becauſe the Action differs in reſpect of the Perſons. Two Princes, of like Temper and Diſpoſition, like Views and Deſigns, ſhall be differently judged of. A bad Prince has been ſometimes accounted a good one, tho' his Government was cruel; and a good Prince has often been cenſured, becauſe his Predeceſſor was more excellent. The Fame which *Auguſtus* procured was the greater, becauſe *Tiberius* ſucceeded him: and the Hatred conceived againſt *Tiberius* was the leſs, becauſe ſucceeded by *Caligula*. Theſe two Emperors were therefore thought to ſhew Prudence in the Choice of their Succeſſors; as the one thereby rendered himſelf

himſelf more amiable, and the other leſs odious. *Herod*, with all his Virtues, had great Vices. His Vices are deſcribed in the ſtrongeſt Colours; but his Virtues overlooked, or turned to Vices, becauſe he ſucceeded to the Throne from the Houſe of *Aſmon*, which the *Jews* abominated. It was a Diſadvantage to King *Erick*, that he immediately ſucceeded Queen *Margaret*; and an Infelicity to King *James*, that he directly ſucceeded Queen *Elizabeth*, who had engroſſed the Hearts of her Subjects.

Faſhionable Doctrines.

The Moderns condemn many Doctrines as heretical, which were purely orthodox in ancient Times when ſuch Doctrines were faſhionable. Contradictory Judgements flow from the different Tempers and Situations of Men. A Point of Doctrine diſregarded in one Man, may be cenſured in another, merely becauſe it is unfaſhionable, and therefore may ſometimes draw the Reproach of Infidelity upon him. All intelligent and impartial Men muſt acknowledge, that the Doctrine of *Janſenius* is no other than the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtin*; tho' what is looked upon as Hereſy in the Modern, was eſteemed a holy Doctrine in the Ancient. Men do not uſually judge according to Doctrine; but according to the Form, Manner, and Phraſe, in which it is delivered.

No body has cenſured *Plutarch's* Parallel of Superſtition and Infidelity. "I wonder," ſays he, "that thoſe who hold Infidelity as ungodly, "do not make the ſame Judgment of Superſti-"tion. They who believe no Gods, are pro-"perly called ungodly; but is it not much more

" impious to attribute the moſt abominable Vi-
" ces, and Weakneſſes, to the Gods? For my
" part, I had much rather People ſhould ſay,
" there neither is nor was any ſuch Man as *Plu-*
" *tarch*; than that, he was either of an inflex-
" ible, ſhameleſs, revengeful Temper, or ſpent
" his Life in Trifles." If a Modern ſhould have ſaid as much, he would ſcarce have eſcaped Cenſure.

A large Catalogue might be made of Things that paſs under different Names from what they deſerve. Characters of Princes are often unjuſtly drawn. Every Hiſtorian, who would give the true Character of a Prince, muſt be careful to prevent being impoſed upon by Words and Phraſes: otherwiſe his Account may ſtrangely impoſe both upon himſelf and his Readers. Many Princes, deſcribed in Hiſtory as wicked and cruel, particularly *Dioclefian*, *Julian*, &c. may be changed into able Governors, by barely obſerving the Time in which their Hiſtories were wrote. *Conſtantius*, *Ludovicus Pius*, &c. who are repreſented as Patterns of Virtue, may, by the ſame Obſervation, be deprived of their Glory. This Rule holds more particularly true in the *Monkiſh* Hiſtories; where Virtues are manifeſtly changed into Vices, and Vices into Virtues. One of the greateſt Rulers who ever ſate upon the Throne, *Frederick* II. of *Denmark*, is painted by the *Monks* as the moſt odious Tyrant; whilſt other worthleſs Princes are extolled to the Skies. Such Failings muſt be aſcribed to the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Authors, their Party-Spirit, or Partiality.

And

And here *Procopius* is an extraordinary Inſtance; who, in moſt of his Writings deſcribes *Juſtinian* as a great Prince; yet, in a particular Piece, makes him a Monſter: ſo much does the Character of the Prince alter with the Turn and Temper of the Hiſtorian. And if the Hiſtory of *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* were extant, we might find a very different Account of *Herod*, from that which we have in *Joſephus*. Virtues and Vices change Names according to caſual Circumſtances, eſpecially among the Vulgar, tho' they remain the ſame among reaſonable and intelligent Perſons. Bad Painters may draw a *Meduſa* for a *Venus*, yet *Venus* loſe no Part of her Beauty.

Virtues and Vices judged of by Succeſs.

One and the ſame Action frequently paſſes under the Name both of Virtue and Vice, or receives Praiſe or Blame from its Succeſs or Failure; and hence Wiſdom is often termed Folly, and Folly Wiſdom. Many a great General has been diſcredited, by the Failure of wiſe and good Attempts; and many a weak Stateſman paſſes for wiſe, by his weak Council luckily proving ſucceſsful. The Vulgar ſeldom regard the Means, but the End; and ſee nothing of the Conduct, Deſign, and prudent Steps of the Wiſe.

Catiline and *Cæſar* were both bad Men; they both endeavoured to arrive at the higheſt Honours, by embroiling the Common-Wealth; but as they were not equally ſucceſsful, *Catiline* ſtands deſcribed as a Monſter, and *Cæſar* as an Ornament of Mankind; inſomuch, that the greateſt Princes have been ambitious to bear his Name. But, if *Catiline*, inſtead of *Cæſar*, had been

been the fortunate Man, and by a lucky Execution of his wicked Scheme, obtained the Sovereignty; Princes might poſſibly have held it an Honour to carry his Name, and *Catalinarian* Majeſty have become the higheſt *European* Title. If *Junius Brutus* had been unſucceſsful in putting an End to the Regal Government of *Rome*, his Name would have appeared black in the *Roman* Hiſtory. A Man may become rich or fortunate, but not able or ſkilful, by Accident. Events and Caſualties may produce Emolument; but Works and Deſigns muſt produce Honour. A lucky Hero is no Hero at all. Men ſeldom reflect in this Manner; but praiſe Perſons for Actions they had no Share in, and erect Statues to Chance.

Things are uſually looked upon, in the World, according to Events; but a true Judgment ſets foreign Circumſtances aſide. A Virtue always remains a Virtue in philoſophical Eyes, and a Vice a Vice; let the Times wherein they are practiſed be paſt, preſent, or future. A Philoſopher judges by intrinſic Value; and can diſtinguiſh vicious Actions under Diſguiſes. He eſtimates nothing by the Character it bears; but by its Reality and Uſe. He judges not from external Appearance, but Juſtneſs of Deſign; and calls that alone good, which tends to promote Happineſs.

Virtues claſſed. Indeed, the Exertion of Virtue may ariſe from different Motives. Thoſe who practiſe it for the Sake of Reward may be called prudent, rather than good. I cannot perſuade myſelf, that all the Virtues in the World ariſe merely from Self-Intereſt. Many Actions may perhaps be performed

ed with this View; but the Good Works proceeding from Self-Intereſt, produce good Effects. It is virtuous to lend Money *Gratis* to the induſtrious Poor: if we take Intereſt for it, we become Merchants; and if the Intereſt be exorbitant, Uſurers. The letting out of Money for Hire, is not giving but receiving; not Liberality but Frugality. To ſerve our Neighbour, or labour for the common Good, is Virtue; provided it proceed from Love to our Neighbour, or our Country; but if done to procure Reputation, it is Ambition; if to procure Power, Place, or Title, it is crafty ſinful Pride. Good Works.

Men therefore may practiſe Virtues out of different Motives: but whether their Motives be juſt or unjuſt, is not eaſy to determine; becauſe all Men pretend to exerciſe Virtue for Virtue's Sake; not excepting thoſe who have the greateſt Regard to Self-Intereſt, or worldly Glory. Moſt Men go maſked, or act their Parts in borrowed Characters, till the Play is ended; when the Maſk being laid aſide, it appears whether they acted themſelves or not. So long as any Man ſupports a good Character, we ſhould reſerve our Judgment; and not raſhly attribute all Devotion to Hypocriſy, all Friendſhip to Intereſt, all Honeſty to Ambition, &c. For, tho' we daily ſee People ſeek their own Advantage, or worldly Honour, under the Maſk of Devotion, Friendſhip, Honeſty, Patriotiſm, &c. yet we muſt not hence conclude, that all Good Works are hypocritical. We muſt allow that *Socrates* was virtuous, *Cato* honeſt, and *Lælius* a true Friend; becauſe. The Motives to Virtue.

becauſe they ſuſtained their reſpective good Characters to their Deaths. But, for living Characters, ſince Men are frequently impoſed upon by Pretences to Virtue, we ſhould not rely too much upon Appearance; nor by judging of all Men alike, make the whole World Comedians; or think Sin the Origin of Virtue. This would be horrid Miſanthropy.

True and ſpurious Virtues.

Such Opinions have brought but little Honour to certain Authors, and particularly a late one, who pretends that all the Virtues are ſelf-intereſted, and derive from ſinful Origins; ſo as to make Humility ariſe from Pride, Friendſhip from Intereſt, &c. We may ſay of ſuch Aſſertions, that, allowing they could be proved, they would ſerve to no other Purpoſe than the raiſing of Miſtruſt, Jealouſy, and Suſpicion among Mankind. But, what is worſe for the Writer, theſe Aſſertions happen to be groundleſs; as evidently appears upon examining each Section of his Book apart.

Prudence.

To bring one Inſtance only, he ſeems to diſſuade Mankind from the Uſe of Prudence, "becauſe," ſays he, Fortune and Accident commonly confound the beſt concerted Schemes:" which is a Miſtake. For, if we compare the Iſſue of prudent and imprudent Actions, we ſhall find, that the imprudent produce ten times more Miſchief than the prudent; and that, for one Example of a bad Event from good Counſel, ten bad ones may be ſhewn from Want of Conſideration.

It is not wiſe to deſpiſe Good Works; and tho' we may have Reaſon to ſuſpect the Motives to ſome

ſome Virtues, yet the Performance of them is Praiſe-worthy. When any one bequeathes a Part of his Fortune to promote the Public Good, he thereby obliges every Individual of the Community; who ſhould look upon ſuch an Action as virtuous, without nicely examining into its Motive.

Good Men claſſed.

I am firmly perſuaded there are Men who practiſe Virtues without any Expectation of Reward, or Advantage. Thoſe who perform Good Works purely out of Duty, or practiſe Virtue for the Love they bear it, may properly be called good Men; and of ſuch we have ſome Examples in Hiſtory. Under this Claſs may likewiſe be reckoned ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves by virtuous Actions for the Sake of Reputation. For tho' theſe Actions are not entirely diſintereſted; yet we are not here to refine too much. In the ſame Rank we may place thoſe who practiſe Virtue from a Hope of Reward in the next Life; unleſs, with ſome ſelf-prudent People, we take all the *Chriſtian* Virtues to be ſelf-intereſted; as being founded upon a promiſed Reward. I judge we ſhould eſteem all Virtues real, which do not proceed from worldly Advantage, or vain Oſtentation.

But they are Heroes, who ſtruggle in Virtue to their own Detriment. If there are but few of the former Claſs, there are certainly fewer of the latter: and yet we find ſome Examples in Hiſtory of Men, who, for the Sake of Truth, have given up their Liberty, and their Lives. The Martyrs of the Primitive Church are illuſtrious Inſtances of this Heroiſm. Some imagine this kind of Virtue

tue is only to be found among *Chriſtians*; but *Socrates*, *Cato*, *Phocion*, &c. may be brought as Examples of it. Others pretend that all the Virtues practiſed by the ancient Philoſophers, were owing to Oſtentation and Pride: but this Aſſertion expoſes Chriſtians to ſevere Repriſals. If any one ſhall, upon bare Suſpicion, pretend that the Virtue of *Socrates*, his Patience and Sufferings, proceeded from Oſtentation and Pride; another may paſs the like Cenſure upon a *Chriſtian* Martyr. Man neither can, nor ſhould judge otherwiſe than from Evidence. No Judge in Court pronounces Sentence without expreſs Witneſſes, and clear Proof. Let the accuſed Perſon be ever ſo much ſuſpected, the Judge is obliged to acquit him, if the Accuſation is not made good. We doubtleſs ought to look upon him as a Hero, who exerciſes Virtue and Good Works to his own Diſadvantage. This at leaſt is more juſt, than to make *Alexander* and *Cæſar* Heroes; who ſacrificed Mankind to their own Ambition: whereas our true Heroes ſacrifice themſelves for the Service of Mankind.

Great Virtues to be ſhewn with Prudence.

But theſe heroical Virtues are to be exerciſed with Prudence; otherwiſe they may loſe their Merit, or turn to Vices. If a good and uſeful Member of Society ſhould offer his Life to preſerve a bad Man, who is a Burthen to the Community; this would be ſo far from Virtue, that it is downright Folly. The greateſt Generoſity, which might otherwiſe paſs for Heroiſm, may ſometimes prove a Sin. If a Man, out of Love to his Friend, ſhould fight a Duel for him; that is,

is, ſhould riſk the loſing of his Body and Soul for his Friend; this is certainly ſinful: unleſs we preſume it an heroical Virtue to be damned for a Friend. It is human Virtue, in the higheſt Degree, to perform Good Works to one's own temporal Detriment. They who practiſe it, without Expectation of Reward, may juſtly be called good; but thoſe who do it to their Detriment, are good Men of a ſublimer Order.

II.

Of Frailty, Sin, and Repentance.

CICERO's wiſe Man is one whom neither Croſſes nor Misfortunes torment, but remains the ſame in Proſperity and Adverſity; and looks upon external Things ſo calmly, as to feel no Care or Concern, no Fear or Anxiety, no great Diſpleaſure or Joy. This high Strain only ſhews what a Man ſhould be, to deſerve *Cicero's* Epithet of Wiſe. But Man is not a Statue, and cannot be diveſted of his Paſſions, without being unmanned. The real Difference betwixt a wiſe Man and a Fool conſiſts in this, that the wiſe Man ſtrives againſt his Weakneſſes, Appetites, and Paſſions, to prevent being conquered by them; whilſt the Fool is always their Captive. Frailty.

Even the wiſeſt Man is frail, and the greateſt Philoſopher cannot prevent the firſt Sallies and Emotions of his Mind, or hinder the ruffling and fermenting of his Thoughts, upon being ſuddenly

ly ſtruck with unexpected Accidents. To do this is as impoſſible, as not to ſee when our Eyes are open. Such a Power manifeſtly belongs not to Man; nor can all the Philoſophy in the World procure it. It is therefore wrong to aſcribe all Commotions of Mind, either to Weakneſs, Fear, or Want of Underſtanding. A ſenſible Man may ſuddenly die by Surprize, or ſicken with Grief, before the Fit, or firſt Tranſport, has time to ſubſide, ſo as to give an Opportunity for Reaſon to exert itſelf, and the ſcattered Powers of the Mind to rally. *Socrates* had violent Paſſions; yet was the greateſt Philoſopher we know of. His Philoſophy did not conſiſt in Inſenſibility; but in the Struggle he had with his Paſſions, to prevent their getting the Aſcendant over him. In this conſiſts the Merit of a Philoſopher. It is no Character at all to be inſenſible. An Eunuch cannot be commended for his Chaſtity; nor a diſpaſſionate Man for his Calmneſs. To ride a quiet Horſe is no Merit in Horſemanſhip; but to manage, and break a wild one, ſhews Skill.

Theſe Diſtinctions uſually paſs unnoticed by the Vulgar, who judge of Virtues and Vices more from Men's Conſtitutions, than from the Qualities of their Minds. And hence, in common Eſtimation, he is no ſteady Man who changes Countenance, or appears moved at an unexpected Queſtion, or Event; but the Appellations of couragious, reſolute, and brave, are beſtowed upon him who ſtands, unmoved, the Shocks and Accidents of Life: which is as wiſe a Judg-

a Judgment, as attributing greater Perfection to a Statue than to a Man.

No Perſon ſhould be eſteemed weak for being moved at a ſudden Accident, or for feeling Pain and Uneaſineſs while his Wound is recent. Impoſſibilities are not to be required of Philoſophers, eſpecially thoſe of delicate, tender, and feeling Conſtitutions; where the Blood may be hot, the Humours ſharp, and the Mind extremely ſuſceptible. Gunpowder will fire with a Spark. The great *Grecian* General *Aratus* felt ſuch Commotion at the Beginning of a Battle, that it uſually threw him into a Purging; but as ſoon as the firſt Shock was over, no General behaved with greater Bravery.

All that can be expected of a Philoſopher, upon theſe Occaſions, is to make a quick Stand, as ſoon as he finds himſelf in a Condition. Theſe Attacks are like Fever-Fits, which muſt have Time to ſpend themſelves, before proper Remedies can be applied. During the Commotion, all the Preſcriptions of *Socrates*, *Cicero*, and *Seneca* are uſeleſs; but of great Efficacy when the Storm is abated. If Inſenſibility muſt be made a Characteriſtic of Philoſophers, other Creatures, beſides Men, might juſtly put in their Claim. When *Julia*, Daughter of *Auguſtus*, was reproved for certain Appetites which the Brutes had not; ſhe anſwered properly, "they want thoſe "Appetites becauſe they are Brutes."

All that Man can do, is to prepare and arm againſt Accidents, by repreſenting them to himſelf before-hand; that he may not meet them en-

tirely unexpected: and when the Mind happens to be confuſed, or diſconcerted, by a ſudden Shock, we ſhould endeavour to recollect our ſcattered Forces, and bring our Faculties to Order. Man cannot be reproached for his Make, his natural Frailties or Infirmities; but only for ſuch as he may prevent. And even here we are ſtrange unaccountable Creatures, and cannot always reconcile our Opinions and Actions to our own Judgment.

The Stoical Doctrine of Sin.

The *Stoics*, particularly *Zeno* and *Chryſippus*, held all Sins to be equal; or that there is no Difference betwixt one Sin and another. They even endeavoured to ſupport this Doctrine, by pretending that "As all Sins flow from the ſame "Fountain of Vice; and as nothing can be tru-"er than Truth; nothing falſer than Falſhood; "ſo one Sin cannot be more ſinful than another. "Tho' one Place," ſay they, "lye twenty Miles "from a City, and another but one Mile; yet "both lye equally out of the City; ſo, let the "Size of Sins be what it will, they are equally "ſinful: as all Lies are equally Lies, tho' they "differ in kind." Thus reaſon the *Stoics*.

Some early Lawgivers founded their Laws upon ſuch falſe Doctrine; which the *Stoics* afterwards publicly defended. *Draco* adjudged the ſame Puniſhment to a Man who ſtole an Apple, as to the greateſt Malefactor. But tho' different Crimes may have been puniſhed with equal Severity, Equality of Puniſhment does not infer Equality of Crimes: for Puniſhment cannot ſo well determine the Magnitude of Offences, as their

their Nature and Kind does, with regard to the Happineſs or Good of Society. Thievery was a capital Crime among the ancient *Scythians*, who lived tented in the open Fields; where no Man could ſecure his Property, unleſs Stealing were puniſhed as ſeverely as Murther. Offences which, among Chriſtians, are only puniſhable by Deprivation from Office, are puniſhed, in *Turky* and *Perſia*, by Strangulation; on account of the Effect and Conſequences of the Offences. Gentle Correction will, in ſome Places, have as great an Effect as ſevere Puniſhment in others; ſo that the Opinion of the *Stoics* can receive no Confirmation from this Argument.

The Stoical Sophiſms anſwered.

It is eaſy to overthrow their other Arguments. They ſay "all Sins ariſe from the ſame Foun-"tain of Vice:" but, we may reply, that all Fountains are not poiſonous; nor the Rivulets which run from them equally noxious. It is true, what lies one Mile from a Place, is diſtant from that Place, as well as what lies a hundred Miles from it; but no Man will hence infer they are both equally diſtant from that Place. All Contradictions to Truth are Lyes; but all Lyes are not of the ſame Magnitude: for ſome Lyes approach nearer to Truth than others. One wrong Path may lead a Traveller farther out of his Way than another; tho' they are neither of them right. He errs the moſt, who takes the Path that carries him fartheſt from the End of his Journey. North, and North-Weſt are different Winds; yet the Difference is not ſo great as betwixt North and South. If this, therefore, be conſidered, we

ſhall ſee the *Stoical* Doctrine is not only falſe, and ill-grounded, but even childiſh; ſo that one may juſtly wonder, how ſo many eminent Men ſhould have zealouſly contended for it.

Plauſible Arguments for the Equality of Sins.

What appears more plauſible than this ſilly Sophiſtry, is, that by every ſingle Sin the Law is infringed: for if any Man wilfully break a ſingle Law, he offends againſt the legal Authority, which may hold all Infringements equal. And upon this Foundation, ſome Divines erect the Doctrine of eternal Puniſhment in the next World; becauſe our Sins are committed againſt an eternal God. But this Argument is no better grounded than the former. Lawgivers in general, eſtabliſh Degrees of Puniſhment; and thereby expreſsly ſhew, that they take one Offence to be leſs than another; even tho' the ſame Authority is violated, and the Laws of the ſame Power infringed, in all Caſes. Revelation aſſures us there are different Degrees of Rewards and Puniſhments in the next Life: whence, if all Puniſhment hereafter is to be eternal, all Men's Sins might ſeem to be equally great. But, allowing Puniſhments, in the next World, to be eternal; it does not even then follow that they will be equally great: for tho' the Puniſhments were to be equal as to eternal Duration, they need not be equally ſevere; and hence we may juſtly believe their Severity will be proportioned to the Nature and Degree of the Crimes committed. All Impriſonments for Life, are not Puniſhments equally great; becauſe, one kind may be more tolerable than another. It is a ſeverer Puniſhment to lye fettered

fettered in a Dungeon all one's Life, than in a Chamber. It ſeems, therefore, unneceſſary to confute this Doctrine farther; and the ſaying thus much upon it might be judged Loſs of Time, if ſo many great and learned Men had not defended it, and preached up the raſh Doctrine of the Equality of Sins and Puniſhments: for we are frequently told, "whoever ſins againſt one "Commandment, ſins againſt all."

We may, indeed, grant, that he who ſins againſt one Law, ſins againſt the whole Law, provided we here underſtand no more than ſinning againſt the whole Law in general, as one Thing; and not the breaking of every ſeparate Commandment thereof in particular: otherwiſe it would follow, that he who commits Adultery, ſins againſt the ſixth Commandment, as well as the ſeventh; which is an Abſurdity, that would introduce ſtrange Confuſion: for an Adulterer might then be accuſed both of Murder and Adultery; whilſt the Sin of which he is guilty may produce a Subject, tho' in an unlawful Manner; whereas Murder is robbing Society of a Subject.

But he who breaks the Law in ſeveral Articles, is frequently guilty of leſs Injuſtice, than he who breaks it only in a ſingle Point of greater Moment: for, in criminal Caſes, there is a wide Difference betwixt Number and Weight, Quantity and Quality. If a Man ſteal an Apple, the Bough of a Tree, or commit many Thieveries of this ſlender Nature, he is leſs a Sinner than if he ſhould murder a ſingle innocent Man; except any body will ſay, that a Man's Life is of no

greater Value than an Apple, or the Bough of a Tree. The *Stoical* Doctrine of the Equality of Sins, is therefore ill-grounded; and can never be ſupported by Argument.

Sinning and Repenting.

But among our numerous contradictory Properties, which occaſion ſo much Difficulty in writing the Hiſtory of Man, we find a ſtrange Succeſſion of Sinning and Repenting alternately: ſo that our Lives reſemble an intermitting Fever, wherein the hot and cold Fits mutually ſucceed each other. The ſame Men will appear almoſt equally ſanguine in Sinning and Repenting. Their Piety ſeems to multiply their Crimes; and their Crimes to multiply their Piety; as if they ſinned to heighten their Devotion; and prayed, to ſin with the greater Guſt. If their Godlineſs were feigned, we might draw the Conſequence readily; for the devout Hypocrite is a common Character, and eaſy to underſtand. The Hypocrite has an End in View, which he hopes to arrive at under the Maſk of Piety and Honour: but the ſinning Devotee is leſs blameable, and more abſurd than the Hypocrite. The ſinning Devotee prays in Earneſt, and ſins in Earneſt; as both the cold and hot Fits of an Ague are real. Hence ſome might expect, that, as this Character is ſtrange, it muſt needs be rare; and that thoſe ſhould be looked upon as Monſters, in whom this ſtrange Alternative is found. But Experience ſhews it to be a common Character; and that it generally appears in thoſe who are leaſt capable of diſſembling. We ſhould not therefore ſuffer ourſelves to be impoſed upon by religious Fame; but

but carefully enquire what a Man's Conduct is betwixt the Morning and Evening Service; whether his Piety be as great on the Monday, as on the Sunday; or whether he does not intermix Prayer and Sin: for, if that ſhould prove the Caſe, he will be ſo far from deſerving the Name of religious, that his daily Devotion becomes rather a Vice than a Virtue. To be frequently praying for the Remiſſion of thoſe Sins, which we as frequently deſign to commit, is only ſporting with Religion; notwithſtanding our Prayers may be made in Earneſt. *Bias*, one of the ſeven wiſe Men, being once on board a Ship with certain irreligious People, and hearing them pray, as a Storm was riſing; whiſpered them, "Friends, "do not pray ſo loud; for fear the Gods ſhould "know you are here."

This fooliſh Devotion has been ſo common, that we find many Inſtances in Church Hiſtory, of Perſons who, deſigning to commit bad Actions, made their propitiary Offerings beforehand. *Louis* the Eleventh prayed to God to aſſiſt him in executing a wicked Purpoſe; and promiſed to make large Donations to Churches and Monaſteries, if he ſucceeded.

C'eſt un Homme d'Honeur, d'une Pieté profonde,
Qui veut rendre à Dieu ce qu'il a pris au Monde.

Sailors inform us, that Pyrates have Prayers, Morning and Evening, regularly, on board their Ships: and we find many Examples of Men, who, with great Devotion, have prepared for a Duel. What is more common, than to ſee profligate People, among the *Roman* Catholics, wear-

ing Crucifixes, Images of Saints, and frequenting the Mass?

The Sacrament is a most holy Covenant, which Numbers make with God, three or four times a Year; and yet this Covenant is often broken. Would it not be better for Men to perform more, and promise less? For, now it appears as if some Men renewed their Covenant with God, three or four times a Year, on purpose to break it as often. What can be more astonishing?

I have often considered what should be the Motive to such kind of Devotion; and can only say it appears to me as if most People imagined that when they pray, God is somewhat indebted to them; and that when they sin, they are somewhat indebted to God; whence they keep, as it were, a kind of Reckoning, in the Way of Debtor and Creditor; and book their Prayers on the Debit Side, and their Sins *per Contra*. But it is greatly to be feared, that such Book-keeping will not be approved on the Day of Audit; when the whole Credit Side may be dashed out at a Stroke. It should seem by some particular private Diaries, which certain Persons have left behind them, that they really had some Notions of this kind; because, in these Diaries there are good and bad Actions recorded, with their respective Days and Dates. Few indeed commit their Actions to Paper; and those who do it are the weaker Sort: yet these sorry Registers afford a Hint of Men's Management in this secret Affair. The Folly, in itself, is equally great, whether the Account be kept in Writing, or barely in the Mind. Such

false

falſe Notions ariſe from Want of Judgment, which leaves Men to imagine that by the keeping of one Commandment, they may purchaſe a Liberty of breaking the reſt. This Error cannot otherwiſe be corrected, than by ſhewing Mankind that they would do much better not to pray at all, than to pray and ſin alternately; better to make no Covenant with God, than immediately to break it after it is made; and that the doing of both is no particular Obligation upon them, but contrary to all Senſe, Juſtice, and common Honeſty.

III.

Of Evil in the World.

IT is ſhocking to find erroneous Conſequences drawn from the Divine Attributes; and God repreſented as an Enemy to Mankind. From the ſuppoſed Evil in the World, his very Being has been denied, and the pretended Exiſtence of a bad God audaciouſly introduced. This proceeds from Folly, or the Want of careful Enquiry, and ſedate Reflection. Indeed Mankind ſtand greatly in Need of Inſtruction, to ſhew them their real Station, and Duty, in the Creation; or on what Foundation their preſent and future Happineſs depends.

Bad Conſequences ignorantly drawn from God's Attributes.

A ſubtile Philoſopher of our Times has endeavoured to defend theſe horrid Principles, and employed the Weapons, uſed by Chriſtians againſt one another, to overthrow Chriſtianity itſelf. His Writings could not have cauſed ſo much Diſturbance,

ſturbance, if ſome Chriſtians had not argued upon falſe Principles, which furniſhed him with Arms for the Purpoſe. Much Evil being ſuppoſed in the World, and Mankind being ſubject to numerous Miſeries, certain Perſons hence take Occaſion to attack the Foundations of Religion; and either deny the Exiſtence of God, or, at leaſt, his Providence. Others pretend there are two equally powerful Beings, or firſt Cauſes, a good and a bad one; and that all Miſeries come from the latter, and cannot be prevented by the former. This Notion, eſpouſed by the ancient *Perſian* Philoſophers, was afterwards propagated by the *Manicheans*, and revived in our Times, particularly by Mr. *Bayle*, who preſumes it difficult to anſwer the Arguments of the *Manicheans*; which he deduces with ſo much Subtilty, as to have alarmed many well-intentioned People.

The Evil which we ſee in the World may be reduced to three Kinds; viz. (1.) Imperfection in the Creatures, (2.) Natural Evil; as Pain, Sickneſs, and Death; and (3.) Moral Evil; or Sin, Vice, and Diſorder, among Mankind.

Arguments of Evil from Notions of Imperfection.

(1.) Many Things appear comparatively imperfect; as Angels in regard to God, who is all Perfection. Men are imperfect in Compariſon of Angels; Brutes in Compariſon with Men; and Plants in Compariſon to Brutes: yet all may be reſpectively perfect in their own kind; an Angel as a Spirit, a Man as a Man, a Brute as a Brute, &c. Nothing could be more childiſh than the Saying of King *Alphonſo*, that "if he had "been of God's Council in the Creation, the World

" World ſhould have been better made." The Diſorder, which this King complained of, conſiſted merely in his own falſe Imagination. It is ridiculous in Man to aſk why there are but ſeven Planets; why they have diſſimilar Revolutions; why all Lines are not ſtrait; or why there is ſo little Uniformity among the Creatures; when he may ſee, that by this Diſſimilarity and Variety in the Creatures, the Creation is rendered glorious, and immenſity of Skill diſplayed. God has made the World according to his own good Pleaſure; and if the Creation be according to his Will, ſhall Man preſume to ſay any Part of it is imperfect? If we find one Creature more excellent than another, this only ſhews that God was pleaſed to make a Difference in his Creatures; but ſo as to leave each perfect in its Kind. We cannot ſay that Trees are imperfect, becauſe they do not walk; nor that Brutes are imperfect, becauſe they have no Diſcourſive Faculty; nor that Men are imperfect, becauſe they have not the Perfection of Angels. Lead is not ſo valuable with us, as Gold; but each of them is good in its Kind. In the moſt exquiſite Buildings we may find one Part more excellent than another; one Room more beautiful than the reſt; but all the Parts perfect, with regard to their reſpective Ornaments and Uſes. If a Man ſhould aſk why the Kitchen, or Parlour, is not ſo highly finiſhed as the State-Room; the Reaſon is, that the one was deſigned for a Kitchen, or a Parlour, and not for a Room of State. If a Fiſh could aſk why he had not Wings; he ſhould be anſwered, becauſe he

he was not made to fly. And if a Bird complained he could not live under Water, we ſhould tell him he was made to live in Air. Nothing can be more fooliſh than to cenſure the Creation on account of the Advantage that one Kind of Creatures has over another; or to pretend that any Kind is imperfect. And hence the Arguments for Evil ariſing from Imperfection, are eaſily anſwered.

Natural Evil.

(2.) But thoſe for Natural Evil are more ſtubborn. To conſider the manifold Miſeries and Misfortunes, the numerous ſhocking Accidents to which Mankind, and the Earth itſelf, are ſubject; the Calamities, Sufferings, Diſeaſes and Death, which hang over our Heads; it might appear as if the Creatures had real Cauſe of Complaint. All the Elements may ſeem at War with us: Water drowns, and Fire conſumes our Dwellings; the Earth produces Poiſons; the Air ſpreads Peſtilence, and ſwarms with noxious Inſects. But tho' Cauſe of Complaint may ariſe from hence, in reſpect of the Creation, there ariſes none with reſpect to the Creatures; certain neceſſary Laws having rendered theſe Inconveniences unavoidable, for the general Support of the World as a Whole, by Means of Variations and Succeſſions in the Parts. Many Things incommode us that prove of great Advantage; as evidently appears by conſidering Particulars. Long Nights are unpleaſant near the Poles; but the Sun's Courſe in the Zodiac, renders all Parts of the Earth's Surface inhabitable; and makes a Summer in every Country. High Winds deſtroy our Buildings, cauſe Diſtreſſes and Loſſes at Sea, and

and other Misfortunes; but they prevent Fogs, cleanſe and purify the Air and Water, or render them more wholeſome. Earthquakes may ariſe from Sulphur, Iron-Ore, or other Mineral Matters in the Bowels of the Earth; from which Mankind, in other Reſpects, receive Advantages. We labour under Diſeaſes; but great Inconveniences would ariſe from conſtant Health. Our Bodies are weak and frail, ſo that ſmall Accidents hurt or deſtroy them; but in this Delicacy conſiſts our greateſt Perfection. If we examine the Texture of the Brain, the Structure of the Eye, &c; we find our Faculties of Underſtanding, Seeing, &c. are in Proportion to the delicate Conformation of thoſe Organs. Men are obliged to labour the Ground, in order to render it fruitful; but if we could procure the ſame Advantages without Labour, we ſhould be leſs happy, or more remiſs and unhealthy. And the ſame holds true of other Inconveniencies to which Mankind are naturally ſubject: for it ſeems to be a Rule, that Men's particular Diſadvantages produce general Advantages.

(3.) The Objections drawn from Sin and Wickedneſs in the World, are of greater Moment, and harder to anſwer; becauſe it appears difficult to reconcile the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God with the great Depravity and numerous Vices prevailing in Men. The Enemies of Religion hence take Occaſion to deny a Providence, and aſcribe all Things to Fate. We cannot ſay here, as we do of natural Evil, that Vices are neceſſary to ſupport the Whole, or that they prove ſerviceable

Moral Evil.

to

to Mankind in general. The ancient *Stoics* endeavoured to ſolve the Difficulty, as appears by the Prayer of *Cleanthes*. " O *Jupiter!* thou " who art all in all, allot my Fate; I fol- " low thee blind-fold. Let me plunge into " Vice, or ſhine in Virtue, I am equally neceſſa- " ry to the Perfection of thy Creation, &c." But this is raiſing two Difficulties inſtead of ſolving one; and either denying God's Providence, or making him the Cauſe of Evil. *Epicurus* uſes the like Argument, in denying God's Government of the World. " God," ſays " he, would either avert Wickedneſs, but cannot; " or he can, and will not; or elſe he neither can, " nor will. If he would, and cannot, he is a " weak Being; if he can, and will not, he is a " wicked Being; but if he neither will, nor can, " he is both wicked and weak: conſequently " there is no God: for if he both will and " can, whence ariſes that Deluge of Wicked- " neſs which overſpreads the World?"

This Argument is made uſe of by Mr. *Bayle*, who knew how to employ it various Ways. In particular, he has endeavoured to ſhew, from the Vices to which Mankind are ſubject, that it was contrary to God's Goodneſs, to make Men, whoſe Depravity he knew before-hand. Mr. *Bayle's* Opponents have ſhewn, that it no way contradicts God's Goodneſs to make Man a free Creature, lying under no Neceſſity of Sinning; tho' God, by his Preſcience, foreſaw Man would ſin. But as this Subject has been fully diſcuſſed of late, I will only add, that it muſt be

be acknowledged God could have made Man more perfect, or even impeccable; and by his Almighty Power, or efficacious Grace, have hindered him from tranſgreſſing the Law: but in that Caſe Man would not have been Man, but a Machine, no more to be commended, or rewarded, for his Virtue, than Water for its Fluidity, or Fire for its Heat. And if the Almighty, by the conſtant Operation of his Grace, hindered the Exerciſe of our Will, and influenced our Actions, he could not be our Lawgiver, much leſs our Judge: for to give Laws, and at the ſame Time, by irreſiſtable Power, to prevent their being broke, is a Contradiction. Mr. *Woolaſton's* following Thoughts are extreamly juſt upon this Head.

" This methinks is ſufficient to ruin the *Ma-*
" *nichean* Cauſe, and exclude the independent
" Principle of Evil. For if we cannot account
" for the Exiſtence of that Evil, which we find
" by Experience to be in the World, it is but
" one Inſtance out of many of our Ignorance.
" There may be Reaſons for it, tho' we do not
" know them. And certainly no ſuch Experi-
" ence muſt make us deny Axioms or Truths
" equally certain. There are, beſide, ſome Things
" relating to this Subject, which deſerve our At-
" tention. For as to moral Good and Evil, they
" ſeem to depend upon ourſelves. If we do but
" endeavour, the moſt we can, to do what we
" ought, we ſhall not be guilty of not doing it:
" and therefore it is our Fault, and not to be
" charged upon any other Being, if Guilt and

" Evil

" Evil be introduced by our Neglect, or Abuſe
" of our own Liberty and Powers. Then as to
" phyſical Evil; without it much phyſical Good
" would be loſt, the one neceſſarily inferring the
" other. Some Things ſeem to be evil, which
" would not appear to be ſuch, if we could ſee
" through the whole Contexture of Things.
" There are not more evil than good Things in
" World, but ſurely more of the latter. Many
" Evils of this kind, as well as of the former,
" come by our own Fault; ſome perhaps by way
" of Puniſhment; ſome of Phyſic; and ſome
" as the Means to Happineſs, not otherwiſe to be
" obtained. And if there is a future State, that
" which ſeems to be wrong now, may be rectifi-
" ed hereafter. To all which, more may yet be
" added. As, that Matter is not capable of Per-
" fection; and therefore where that is concerned,
" there muſt be Imperfections, and conſequently
" Evils. So to aſk, why God permits Evil, is
" to aſk, why he permits a material World, or
" ſuch a Being as Man is; indowed indeed with
" ſome noble Faculties, but incumbered at the
" ſame Time with bodily Paſſions and Propenſi-
" ons. Nay, I know not whether it be not to
" aſk, why he permits any imperfect Being; and
" and that is, any Being at all: which is a bold
" Demand; and the Anſwer to it lies perhaps too
" deep for us. If this World be deſigned for a
" a *Palæſtra*, where Men are to exerciſe their Fa-
" culties and their Virtues, and by that prepare
" themſelves for a ſuperior State (and who can
" ſay it is not?) there muſt be Difficulties and
" Temp-

" Temptations, Occaſions and Opportunities for " this Exerciſe. Laſtly, if there are Evils, of " which Men know not the true Origin; yet " would they but ſeriouſly reflect upon the many " Marks of Reaſon, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs " every where to be obſerved in Inſtances which " they do or may underſtand, they could ſcarce " doubt but the ſame Things prevail'd in thoſe " which they do not underſtand. If I ſhould " meet with a Book, the Author of which I " found had diſpoſed his Matter in beautiful " Order, and treated his Subject with Reaſon " and Exactneſs; but at laſt as I read on, came " to a few Leaves written in a Language which " I did not know: in this Caſe I ſhould cloſe " the Book with a full Perſuaſion, that the ſame " Vein of good Senſe, which ſhewed itſelf in " the former and much greater Part of it, ran " thro' the other alſo: eſpecially having Argu- " ments *à priori*, which obliged me to believe, " that the Author of it all was the ſame Perſon. " This I ſhould certainly do, rather than deny " the Force of thoſe Arguments, in order to " aſſert two Authors of the ſame Book.

Mr. *Bayle* was aware of the Strength of this kind of Reaſoning; and to evade it, like a ſkilful Diſputant, endeavour'd to ſet his Adverſaries at Variance, and battle one Divine with the Arguments of another. But however unjuſt his Doctrine, in this Point, may be, he plainly overthrows the Arguments of thoſe who pretend God may puniſh for Ignorance, and damn or ſave eternally, according to his own mere good Plea-

ſure. To puniſh for Ignorance, is increaſing the Number of the Damned to ſuch a Degree, as to ſuppoſe Mankind, in general, born to that End. The beſt Armour againſt the Enemies of Revelation conſiſts in clear and ſound Explanations of certain Paſſages of Scripture.

Hell-Torments.

As to the Eternity of Hell-Torments, I do not ſhelter myſelf under *Origen*; but reſt well ſatisfied with knowing, that God will not act contrary to his own Juſtice and Goodneſs. A Judge may moderate his Puniſhments, without contradicting his Truth. It is not with Threats as with Promiſes: The Execution of Threats may be remitted; but Promiſes are Pledges for full Performance.

IV.

Of Metaphyſical Theology.

The Folly of falſe Metaphyſics.

SOME Men amuſe themſelves with abſtract Speculations above the Reach of human Underſtanding. Such Attempts ſhould ſtand in the Catalogue of human Follies; as making us neglect the Diſcovery of uſeful and neceſſary Things. Mankind employed their Time in this tranſcendental Manner for a thouſand Years, without any Advantage to themſelves or others. But I here confine myſelf to the Subject of Spirit; upon which we have many Thouſands of Volumes, ancient and modern; and could a Man peruſe them,

them, he would certainly find himſelf no wiſer for the laborious Undertaking.

We know, by Revelation, that the Soul is immortal, and differs from the Body: this ſhould content us. If it does not, and we begin to perplex ourſelves with the Works of wild Metaphyſicians, we immediately enter an Ocean full of dangerous Rocks and Difficulties. I know, many think it a Part of Philoſophy to demonſtrate the Nature and Properties of the Soul; but this is the Opinion of ſuch as have read little, reflected leſs, and never look'd much about them. For, whoever examines the Notions and Conjectures of metaphyſical Philoſophers, will find how ſtrangely the moſt ingenious of them vary; ſo that, there are here almoſt as many different Syſtems as different Philoſophers. Even Chriſtians hold contradictory Opinions upon the Subject. That the Fathers of the Church had groſs Notions of Angels, and the Souls of Men, appears from the Hiſtory of the Church down to the ſecond Council of *Nice*. *Johannes* of *Theſſalonica* expreſly declares that, "Angels may "be painted, becauſe they are corporeal:" *Pingendi ſunt Angeli, quia corporei.*

Nothing determined about the Soul, by Philoſophers.

It has been lamented, as a great Misfortune, that St. *Anſelm* died before he deliver'd his Doctrine of the Soul; becauſe he earneſtly deſired to leave a Treatiſe upon the Subject, as fearing no Body elſe wou'd undertake it after his Deceaſe. But, probably, he cou'd have given no better an Account of it, than his Predeceſſors and Succeſſors have

done. Some wonder how the ancient Philoſophers cou'd deliver ſo many ſtrange Conjectures about the Nature of the Soul; but the Wonder ceaſes when we reflect, that the greater Capacities they had, the more Difficulties they found. What immenſe Pains have Men taken to diſcover the Soul's Origin! This has been a Torture to Philoſophers. Yet they met with greater Difficulties in their Enquiries after the Cauſe, the Manner, and Form of Thought; and particularly in determining how it is brought into Action. And hence the learned *Thomas Bartholine* ſaid of the abovemention'd St. *Anſelm*, "If God had "been pleas'd to have granted him a double Life, "he could ſcarce have ſolved this Difficulty."

Body and Spirit.

Many Philoſophers make no other Difference betwixt Body and Soul, but that the Soul conſiſts of a very ſubtile Matter, more or leſs intelligent, according as the Machines wherein it operates are diſpoſed: and this they think is accounting for the Difference of Men's greater or leſs degree of Underſtanding.

Democritus.

Democritus, the ſuppoſed Founder of the Atomical Philoſophy, preſumes all Things conſiſt of the ſame Kind of Matter. His Followers are call'd by the Name of *Materialiſts*, or Corpuſcular Philoſophers; as maintaining, that the Particles of Matter, by means of Organization, ſubtilize, and render themſelves perfect; and thereby acquire the Faculty of Thinking; which they therefore make a *Modus*, or kind of Underſtanding, to be found among Brutes as well

as

as Men: and according to this Doctrine, Spirit muſt be corporeal.

The Atomical Philoſophers were afterwards divided into two Claſſes; ſome believing, with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, that all Matter was in itſelf dead; but became alive by means of a particular Arrangement or Organization. But theſe were all of them groſs, ſpeculative Atheiſts, and cou'd never ſupport their Doctrine; becauſe dead Particles can by no conceivable Diſpoſition or Arrangement become alive, or mere Matter be made a living Soul. This Notion being deemed abſurd, others held that a certain eternal Life was inherent in Matter. Theſe went under the Name of *Hylozoiters*; a Sect ſuppoſed to be founded by *Strato Lampſacenus*, who held, with *Epicurus*, that all Things came by Chance, or Attraction, upon the particular clinging of Particles together; in which Operation he gives them a ſort of Life; and thereby attributes a kind of Divinity to Matter. Hence ſome have imagined that *Strato* believed a God; tho' he has generally paſs'd for an Atheiſt, on account of introducing Attraction, acknowledging no Faſhioner or Creator of Matter, but ſuppoſing intelligent Creatures produced by Organization. Atomiſts. Strato.

Anaxagoras firſt diſtinguiſh'd Body from Spirit, and maintained an intelligent Being very different from Matter, who originally produced, and afterwards ſupported and govern'd all Things. This was making a Wrent in the Syſtem of the old Materialiſts. The ſoundeſt Philoſophers have Anaxagoras.

followed him; and ſhewn, that Life and Spirit cannot proceed from Matter. Some among theſe agree as to the Difference betwixt Soul and Body, but vary conſiderably as to the Nature and Properties of the Soul; inſomuch, that by reading their Writings, a Man may rather be confounded than inſtructed.

Whether Spirit be extended.

Many have diſputed whether Spirit can have Extenſion. The greater Part deny it; pretending that Extenſion belongs only to the Body, wherein three Dimenſions are inſeparable; and that, whatever has Extenſion may be divided, and conſequently deſtroy'd. Others, unable to conceive how any Thing can exiſt without being extended, alledge, that ſuppoſing the Soul ever ſo minute, it ſtill has Extenſion.

Immortality of the Soul.

In like manner Men have diſputed about the Soul's Immortality; ſome holding that Spirit being ſimple can never periſh; and that Deſtruction ſolely belongs to Body, which conſiſts of ſeparable Parts. Others have thought, as the Soul is a Creature, it is capable of periſhing; ſo that its Immortality muſt ſingly be aſcribed to the Will of God. Some have endeavoured to ſtrengthen this Opinion by Arguments drawn from the Souls of Brutes; which, ſay they, have the Properties belonging to Spirit. Yet all do not from hence infer the Souls of Brutes to be immortal; becauſe, they fear, every Animal, Fiſh and Inſect, wou'd then ſwarm with the Souls of departed Brutes. *Des Cartes* was ſo preſs'd with this ſtrange Difficulty, that he labour'd to prove

Brutes

Brutes were Machines: and, as abſurd as the Notion is, ſome have adopted it.

Whether the Soul is freer out of the Body.

Men have alſo diſputed whether the Soul can exert the Faculty of Reaſoning, without the help of the Body. Moſt take the Affirmative; thinking the Body a kind of Priſon, wherein the Soul is reſtrain'd from thoſe Raptures and Tranſports, which belong to her Nature, but are ſuppreſs'd by the Care and Regard ſhe has for the Body; from whoſe Incumbrance being once releaſed, they fancy, ſhe muſt reaſon with greater Strength, and perceive and underſtand many more Things than ſhe does in the Body. But others object to this, from obſerving that when the Brain is diſordered, Men ceaſe to reaſon; and that as the Body is more or leſs perfect, the Soul is more or leſs rational; that a new born Child has no Reflection; and a ſuperannuated Man but little Underſtanding.

Whether Matter can think.

Many ſuppoſe it wicked to attribute Thought and Perception to Matter; others hold it more wicked to deny that God can ſuper-add the Faculty of thinking to Matter: and both Opinions are defended by great Men. *Des Cartes*, *Malebranche*, and others, maintained the firſt; ſome Fathers of the Church, particularly *Tertullian*, and many Philoſophers of our Times, but principally Mr. *Locke*, have maintained the ſecond, and expreſs'd Surprize that thoſe Perſons who believe God ſometimes controuls and ſuſpends the Laws of Nature, and performs Wonders to pleaſe Monks and Abbots, are bold enough to deny

He can give Thought and Perception to Matter.

Propagation of Souls.

No leſs Diſputes have ariſen about the Propagation of the Soul. Some are of Opinion it is propagated along with the *Semen*; and ſuppoſe the Souls of all Men reſided in *Adam:* but others hold, that the Soul of every Man is immediately created by God. Both theſe Opinions have their Difficulties. The firſt may ſeem to favour of Materialiſm; and the other to touch God's Juſtice. For, if a pure unſpotted Soul be put into a defiled Body, God is hence ſuppos'd to favour Uncleanneſs and Adultery; and beſtow purpoſely-created Souls upon promiſcuous Concubinage.

Seat of the Soul.

It is alſo controverted in what Part of the Body the Soul reſides; ſome ſay in the Brain, others in the Heart, others in the Syſtole and Diaſtole of the Heart; and others again in no particular Part, but all over.

Our Ignorance.

It has hitherto been found impoſſible to diſcover, how the Soul is united with the Body; how it operates; and whether it be conſcious to itſelf, or knows its own Wants and Deſires. Theſe Difficulties have produced many oppoſite Syſtems; and, probably, will continue to do ſo, till Man's Underſtanding acquires more Light in a future State.

Many indeed imagine theſe no great Difficulties; and we daily find young People boldly deciding upon ſuch Metaphyſical Queſtions; ſo that if you aſk any Stripling Candidate of Philoſophy what the Soul is, he immediately tells you; and, in his own Opinion, gives you an exact

exact Account of it. Great is the Knowledge of those who have read a little, but never reflected! The more a Man thinks of these Subjects, the less he understands of them; for it here happens as it did to *Turnus*, who the longer he followed the Phantom of *Æneas*, the farther he ran from what he was seeking. The Author of the *Art of Thinking* speaks to the Purpose: "He who once, "with Sincerity, acknowledges he knows no- "thing of this Kind, advances, in an Instant, far- "ther than a Philosopher who has been arguing, "for twenty Years, upon Metaphysical Subjects. "The Difference is, that he who labours to fathom "these Secrets, is the most ignorant of the two; "because he fancies he knows what he really "has no Conception of.

The best Metaphysics.

I by no Means reject the Study of true Metaphysics; but wish it to be improv'd, so as to give a History of the Mind, or a faithful Register of what mentally passes within ourselves; describe our Thoughts, their Successions, Relations, Connexions, Combinations, Operations, and Effects upon the whole Man and his Parts; their Influence over others, when express'd in Words, Countenance, Gesture, &c. and exhibit, as it were, a Map of the Mind of Man, from diligent Attention and Observation. The Communication and Intercourse betwixt Mind and Mind is felt by us all, and has surprizing Effects; but we want a History of the Thing, that Philosophy may keep Pace with Experience; and a Science be formed out of what, at present, lies only in scatter'd Observations, not duly collected, and reflected upon by Philosophers;

Philoſophers; who here ſeem to be upon a falſe Scent, or to purſue their own Miſery, and neglect the Eſſentials to their Happineſs.

All Philoſophers ſhou'd follow the Judgment and laudable Moderation of the Lord *Bacon* in Philoſophy, and Sir *Iſaac Newton* in Mathematics; and never preſume to determine *à Priori*. Let us ceaſe to enquire about the Nature of Spirit; the Oeconomy of Souls; how they ſupport themſelves; how they are propagated; whether they have Dimenſions; whether they conſiſt of Atoms; whether they can reaſon out of the Body, *&c.* for it is better to let theſe and the like Queſtions alone, than fruitleſsly to torture ourſelves about them. Indeed we ſhou'd conduct all our Metaphyſical Enquiries in the Method *à Poſteriori*, by ſtating the Facts, and Effects produced; for thus we may, at leaſt, learn ſomething certain. As to the abſtract Properties of the Soul, we really know nothing; and if we endeavour to plunge after them, let *Terence* check us:

Incerta hæc, ſi tu poſtules
Ratione certa facere, nihilò plus agas
Quàm ſi des operam ut cum Ratione inſanias.

Of

V.

Of the Principles of Religion.

TWO hundred Years ago, it was Orthodoxy in Chriſtendom to have no Religion, but a blind Obedience to the arbitrary Conſtitutions and Injunctions of the Court of *Rome*; all Enquiry being then look'd upon as Hereſy, or Infidelity. But certain intrepid Heroes aroſe to demoliſh this uſurp'd Authority, that oppreſſed and enſlaved *Europe* by Power and Craft. The Foundation upon which they erected their Battery was the *Right of Enquiry*; and the Duty of every Man to hear and examine, before he believes and judges. State of Religion at the Reformation.

The *Romiſh* Clergy appeal'd to Antiquity for the Truth of their Doctrine; but were ſhewn that falſe Doctrines may be ancient. They pretended, that religious Diſputes had long ſince been decided, after the exacteſt Scrutiny; but were anſwer'd, that nobody has a Right of determining, for another, what the Scripture delivers as Articles of Faith; and that whoever pretends to do it, puts himſelf in the Place of the Scripture. They alledged the Scriptures were dark in many Places, ſo that every one cou'd not diſcover the true Meaning; and that the Generality ſhou'd be contented with the Interpretation of thoſe who underſtood the Originals. It was replied, that all who underſtood the original Languages, did not agree in their Interpretations;

terpretations; and that what one learned Man call'd Right, another call'd Wrong. The Catholics pretended, if all were allowed the Liberty of Enquiring, numerous erroneous Sects muſt needs be the Conſequence; but were told, it was better ſome Errors ſhou'd prevail, than Men have no Faith. For if the common People, before the Reformation, were ever queſtioned about their Religion, they could only anſwer, "they believ'd what their Prieſts believed; that "their Prieſts believed what the Church believed; "and that the Church had the ſame Belief as the "Pope." But what Faith the Pope held, they knew not. Few of them had ever ſeen the Bible, or heard it mention'd; inſomuch, that many thought the New-Teſtament a dangerous Book compiled by *Luther*. The Arguments of the firſt Reformers being therefore found unanſwerable, the Reformation had the good Succeſs which all the World knows.

Procedure of the newly reformed.

During the Change, before Things were ſettled, the Reformers continued to uſe the ſame Arguments which had already procur'd them ſo much Advantage; but as ſoon as a few Churches were founded, ſo as to dread no diſturbing Power, the Reformed began to waver in their Principles; and employed the ſame kind of Arguments againſt others, who ſeparated from them, as the *Romiſh* Clergy had uſed againſt the original Reformers. This, however, was done with Circumſpection in Language, tho' not in Fact; for, they retained the old Form of Speech, that "every Man ſhou'd ſearch the Scriptures;" but

but with this Reſerve, that the Diſcoveries and Judgments made, muſt entirely agree with theirs; and that, after a free and exact Enquiry, all ſhou'd ſubſcribe Articles ſettled by Aſſemblies of Divines. Which amounts to this: "You may believe "what you find to be right; but nothing is "right beſides what we believe." Such Liberty of Enquiry is a treacherous Compliment, that chains down the Priſoner, and tells him he is free.

Advantage of the Popiſh Clergy.

The Popiſh Clergy took the Advantage, retorted the Argument, and objected, that the Reformers ſet up Infallibility among themſelves, tho' they condemn'd it in others; ſo that the principal Difference betwixt Catholics and Proteſtants was only nominal. It gravell'd the Proteſtants to be ſhewn, that they proceeded contrary to their own Principles; that the Permiſſion they gave of examining the Scriptures was only verbal, and meant no more than "Search, but ſo as "to let your Faith, in no reſpect, differ from "ours." Upon this, the Reformers had recourſe to Exhortation and Perſuaſion; but with ſo little Effect, that Confeſſions of Faith were drawn up; and the People obliged, by Power, to ſubſcribe them. Hence new Proteſtants aroſe out of the old, till different contending Sects ſpread all over Chriſtendom; each Sect crying out againſt the other, "Examine, believe, and ſubſcribe."

Merits of the firſt Reformers.

The Merit of the firſt Reformers ought gratefully to be acknowledged; for they diſpelled the Miſt that envelopp'd Chriſtianity: they put the Scriptures

Scriptures into our Hands, when the reading of them had been forbid; they purged the Divine Doctrine from human Inventions; and gave a new, and in all Respects, a better Form to the Church. Probably they might have made the Reformation general, if they had steadily adhered to their original Principles. The Reformation was founded in the Christian Liberty of Enquiry previous to Belief; but when once this Foundation is weaken'd, the whole Fabric must fall. It might appear as if the Reformers set themselves up for Popes; and, instead of one infallible Church, establish'd several, with the same arbitrary Powers as that of *Rome*. In Fact, the Reformation consisted in dividing the Empire of *Rome* with *Germany*, *England*, and *Holland*.

The Protestant Sectaries.

The modelling of the reformed Churches, and the preaching up of Liberty, has indeed occasioned strange Sects, which render it expedient to subscribe Confessions of Faith. And these Subscriptions seem unexceptionable, provided they are barely proposed, and not imposed: but Compulsion spoils all; saps the Foundation of the Reformation, and makes Religion contradict itself. It may be asked, "Shall all sorts of Opinions "be permitted, and every Man left free to "chuse his Religion?" I answer, Information and Instruction are to be used; but not Power, or Penalty. Faith cannot be compell'd. Pains and Penalties may oblige Men to act, but cannot oblige them to think. And, if Men cannot be compell'd to think, Punishment only forces them to speak contrary to their Thoughts; and makes

makes them Hypocrites, inſtead of Heretics. Coercive Means of propagating Religion are unjuſt; nothing being more unjuſtifiable than to force Men to ſay they underſtand what they do not, or cannot, underſtand. Shall Proteſtants give up their Underſtandings in Reality, as Papiſts are compell'd to do in Appearance? Some Men believe out of Courteſy; and think it civil to flatter their Teachers.

Errors. It has indeed been ſaid that certain People will not believe: but I dare not judge ſo raſhly; becauſe I cannot think any Man willfully entertains damnable Opinions. Let us hear what a reſpectable Catholic Writer, *l' Abbé de St. Pierre*, has lately publiſh'd upon this Head. "The Errors of our Neighbours," ſays he, "are involuntary; for, no Man "willingly errs: therefore ſuch Errors are ex- "cuſable, provided they do not contradict "Juſtice, or other cardinal Virtues. But all Per- "ſecution is voluntary; ſince he who perſecutes, "wills to perſecute; and therefore can, by no "Means, be excuſed."

Eſtabliſh'd Religion. Some ſuppoſe it ſafer to believe the Doctrines which learned Men have allow'd to be true, than to truſt to their own Examination; and conſequently, that it is wrong, in any private Perſon, to ſcruple the Subſcribing of Articles of Faith eſtabliſh'd by Law. But this Way of Reaſoning leads to endleſs Error and Confuſion. The Ground-Work of the Reformation is ſapp'd by it; the original good Conduct of the firſt Reformers contradicted; and all their Arguments againſt the Church of *Rome* enervated. It makes the

the Permiſſion of examining the Scriptures, to conſiſt in empty Sound; and all Religions eſtabliſhed by Law, to be valid. It condemns the Labours of Chriſtian Miſſionaries, in converting the *Heathens* and *Mahometans*; becauſe their Converſion is attempted by exhorting them to examine whether the reſpective Religions wherein they were educated, and which are eſtabliſhed by Law, ſtand upon a good or bad Foundation. Miſſionaries, ſent into heathen Countries, admoniſh the People not to rely upon the Faith of their own Countries, but to examine our Doctrines; and ſhall we, at home, admoniſh all to abide by the Faith of their Fathers, to ſtop their Ears againſt Information, and make what we call a Duty in one Place, to be Sin in another?

Duty of Enquiry.

All Men will not be pleas'd with this frank Declaration; and perhaps I may err: but I hold it not ſo dangerous to err, as to avow Principles which I do not believe. I know that I am to be ſaved by my own Faith, and not by my Teacher's. I know Faith does not deſcend from Father to Son, nor can be made over in Truſt; but muſt be grounded upon Enquiry. And, as it is the Duty of every Chriſtian to enquire before he believes, I reſt aſſur'd, that when any Man diligently ſeeks the Truth, God accepts his Intention. Many are puff'd up with a Faith they never ſought after; and can give no other Account of, than that they were educated in it. Nay, the more ignorant they are, the greater Infallibility they uſually pretend to; and find neither Doubts nor Difficulties in Religion. Is it not ſurprizing

ſurprizing to find theſe ignorant People forward in obtruding their own ſuperficial Opinions upon others, who have carefully examin'd for themſelves? When any ſuch charitable Perſon takes Pains to inſtruct me, I make the ſame Anſwer I do to thoſe good-natur'd Friends who preſcribe me Phyſic, or Rules of Health; and tell them I have, for forty Years, carefully examin'd my own Conſtitution, and cannot readily ſubmit it to the Management of thoſe who never ſtudied it at all.

The Tolerating Spirit.

Certain Perſons talk zealouſly for Toleration, yet do not practiſe it. This Language is found among the Separatiſts; who, without the leaſt Ceremony, contradict their own Principles. If their Doctrine be condemn'd, they rail againſt Perſecution; and, at the ſame Time, ſeverely cenſure the eſtabliſh'd Church, from which they diſſent: thereby ſufficiently diſcovering *what Spirit they are of.* It is ſtrange to inveigh againſt Perſecution, and, in the ſame Breath, decry all Forms of Worſhip beſides their own, even down to indifferent Things. What can we think of Heralds who carry the Olive-Branch of Peace in one Hand, and the Trumpet of War in the other?

Heretical Books.

I hold it a Duty to ſearch after Truth; the Knowledge of which cannot be obtain'd, without hearing what may be alledged on both Sides of a Queſtion. I therefore make no Scruple to read Books both for and againſt Religion. I am ſenſible this Practice is often condemn'd; and that many are ſo fearful of an heretical Book, as

to be ſhock'd at the Cover. But I do not reckon ſuch Caution among the Merits of the Learned. It appears like declaring "they will have nothing "to do with Enquiry." Whether this be meritorious with our Creator, who has beſtow'd a rational Soul upon us, and commanded us to uſe it, I dare not determine.

Indeed the Reading of Books againſt Religion, may often betray a Thirſt after Novelties; tho' it ſhews a kind of Anxiety about a future State. Shall we commend Adventurers who ſcruple no Pains to diſcover a new Country; yet cenſure thoſe who anxiouſly enquire after another Life? They who, in this Life, think it not worth their while to enquire the Way to Salvation, differ little from Brutes. How can it be ſaid of thoſe who read only one Book, that they enquire at all? Or how can we know they believe, who never examin'd the Grounds of their Faith? I ſhou'd rather excuſe Error than Neglect of Enquiry. He who believes right, without enquiring, is only orthodox by Accident; and can only be ſaved by Accident. If this Procedure muſt be defended, can we be angry with certain Philoſophers for ſaying, that "Men may be ſaved by the Light of Nature, "and a ſound Underſtanding?"

Principles of Religion.

It is unmerciful to ſtigmatize, and blacken the careful, anxious Enquirer after Truth and the Way to Salvation. The Fruits of my own Enquiry I freely communicate. My Religion reſts upon three Principles; *viz.* (1.) To believe Nothing that contradicts my Senſes. (2.) To receive

receive Nothing that weakens the Fundamentals of Religion; and (3.) To reject whatever contradicts the Divine Attributes.

It would be impossible to make me believe Transubstantiation; because I cannot, shou'd not, deny that I see and feel. To believe any Thing in Contradiction to my Senses, is to render all Things uncertain. If I could be persuaded that the Bread, which I see and taste for Bread, is Flesh; that Light is Darkness, and Shadow is Substance; I might be brought to believe that a Circle is a Triangle; that a strait Line is a Circle; and to reject the History, the inconteſtable Evidence and Proofs, upon which the Christian Religion is grounded. Yet Men can suit themselves to a Faith which flatly contradicts their Senses; whilst their Passion, Zeal and Pride to defend the Opinions in which they were educated, have the same Effects upon their Minds, as a Fever. A Fever may so deprave the natural Taste, as to render the Sick no Judges of Meats and Drinks. And the Rage a Man has to combat for the Faith of his Forefathers, which is a Fever of the Mind, causes Black to appear White, and Crooked to appear Strait.

As I believe Nothing that contradicts the Fundamentals of Religion, I cannot refuse the same Liberty to my Neighbours. To preach up Freedom, and practice Compulsion; to cry out against Persecution, and yet persecute; to censure that in others, which I hold a Virtue in myself, are abominable Contradictions; whereby a Man

throws away his Weapons, and gives himſelf, fettered, into the Hands of his Enemy.

As I receive Nothing contradictory to the Divine Attributes, I can never believe the Doctrine of Fate, Neceſſity, or Chance. When I meet with any Expreſſion in Scripture, that contradicts the Attributes of God, I recede from the Letter. And theſe three Principles I hold it my Duty to abide by, as the beſt and ſafeſt I can find.

I believe in a God who is merciful and benign to Mankind; and cannot worſhip a God of Cruelty. I condemn no innocent Recreations; I encourage no Melancholy or Sadneſs of Heart; nor look upon ſlaviſh Fear as a Chriſtian Virtue.

Chearfulneſs in Religion.

A beneficent Father allows his Children innocent Diverſions, and ſuitable Recreations; he rejoices in ſeeing them pleas'd and happy; all Signs of Dejection and Uneaſineſs, both of their Minds and Bodies, are to him diſagreeable. He takes their Joy as a Token of their being ſatisfied, and delighted, with his Behaviour; and their Sorrow for a Sign of Diſſatisfaction with himſelf. Certain Perſons once admoniſhed *Cæſar* to beware of *Anthony*, and others ill-intentioned againſt him. *Cæſar* anſwered, "that *Anthony*'s gay "Countenance, and ruddy Complexion, gave "him no Suſpicion; but that indeed, he was "afraid of the pale Looks, and dejected Be"haviour of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*:" and Hiſtory informs us he judged right. Thoſe Children are certainly ill educated, who always tremble at the Sight of their Father. This denotes the Education not of a Child, but a Slave who ſighs for Liberty. To be a Father, is to win a Son's Love;

Love; which cannot be done, till the Son is satisfied his Father firſt loves him.

Religion, with me, is not the Fear, but the Love of God; a Love always coupled with the higheſt Veneration. Falſe Deſcribers repreſent Religion mix'd with Fear and Terror, Spleen and Melancholy. I hold that Men ſhou'd ſerve God, not with ſlaviſh Fear, but filial Love, Duty, and ready Obedience. To uſe Rigour and Severity in Religion, is always wrong; and at this Juncture very unſeaſonable. Chriſtianity ſhould not be render'd diſguſtful, when ſo many Enemies riſe up againſt it, and endeavour to render the Clergy odious. This precarious Situation of the Chriſtian Affairs requires Moderation and Lenity. Many Writers among the *Engliſh* Clergy behave with a true Chriſtian Spirit to the Deiſts, who, in our Times, ſpeak vehemently againſt the Dignity of Preachers; and, under the Pretext of Natural Religion, attempt to crucify the Prieſthood. Wherein Religion conſiſts.

I do not neglect Prayer, but my Prayers are ſhort; being perſuaded that the ſerving of God conſiſts more in Obedience, and the Amendment of Life, than in Prayer, or Praiſe. I judge it of more Importance to meditate, for a ſerious Hour, upon the Correction of our Vices, and the real Improvement of our Lives, than to pray the whole Year round. Prayer.

I readily ſubſcribe all the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith; tho' I had rather the Number were leſſened: becauſe I conceive ſome of them contain certain Notions which might be debated, or even denied, without Danger; and therefore

might be deliver'd over to Philoſophy, rather than remain as abſolute Points of Divinity.

Opinions not to be obtruded,

But I am ſo far from obtruding my own religious Opinions, and Practices, upon others, that I do not deſire any body to receive them: I only wiſh every one would enquire before he believes. It is in a Man's Power to enquire, but not to believe; unleſs we take the Word *Belief* in a particular Senſe, ſo as to ſignify the laying aſide Prejudice, and carefully examining the Doctrines of Religion. If the Word be not underſtood in this Senſe, it is in vain to cry out "Believe;" which rather renders the Faith propoſed, ſuſpicious and cheap. Shall Men uſe their Senſes and Underſtanding in worldly Affairs, and neglect to uſe them about their eternal Welfare? I cenſure no Mortal who wiſhes and endeavours to be ſaved; but muſt condemn thoſe who uſing their own Senſes, refuſe the ſame Liberty to others. Nor can I approve of thoſe who publicly and ſolemnly profeſs the Doctrine which they privately deſpiſe and laugh at. The former lead Men into Error blind-fold; and the latter mock God.

But ſought.

If I err, it is unwillingly, and after a careful Enquiry; which may plead ſome Excuſe. A Man who errs in this Manner, I compare to a careful Pilot, who takes due Notice of the Winds, the Currents, and the Soundings, yet runs a little out of his Courſe: but an indolent Believer, without Examination, is like an idle Sailor, who neglects his Duty, and deſerts his Poſt; yet may accidentally make the Harbour.

VI.

Of being born within the Pale of the Church.

IT is Matter of Aſtoniſhment, that Chriſtians ſhould damn the Heathens for being born without the Pale of the Church. The Notion has been general among the Vulgar; and ſtands confirmed by the Judgment of many great Men, who ſuppoſe it grounded on holy Writ, where they find that none but true Believers can be ſaved. Unbelievers

But as it is a Principle with me, to admit of nothing in Religion that contradicts the Divine Attributes, I judge favourably of *Jews*, *Mahometans* and *Heathens*; becauſe I cannot reconcile their Damnation with God's Holineſs, Juſtice, and Goodneſs. What can more ſtrongly contradict theſe Divine Attributes, than to make the Damnation of Men depend upon ſuch accidental Things, as Birth, Education, and Ignorance? To damn a *Chineſe*, or *Mahometan*, for Unbelief in Chriſtianity, is to damn them for being born at *Pekin* or *Conſtantinople*. As this gives a falſe Idea of God's Juſtice, I reject it. Would any good Prince exclude his Subjects from Offices, or Employments, merely for their being born in particular Counties of his Dominions? What could we think of Laws forbidding black-haired People from entering into *Chriſtian* Countries; or prohibiting Baptiſm to the Children born betwixt By Birth,

twixt Chriſtmas and Eaſter? Should People be puniſhed for what they have not done, or were not in a Condition to do, or prevent?

Education. It is cruel to damn any Perſon on account of the Place he was born in; and unjuſt to damn on account of Education. A Child is not in a Capacity to chuſe his Tutor; but has one allotted him, by Accident, or the Choice of others: for, Children muſt be educated under the Eyes of ſomebody. And, conſtant Experience ſhews, that the Principles we receive in our Infancy, are ſo deeply imprinted, as uſually to become indelible. We ſometimes ſee Chriſtian Children carried to *Turkey*; and ſtaying to be educated there, they embrace the *Mahometan* Religion ſo zealouſly, as to riſk their Lives and Fortunes in defending it. To damn ſuch *Mahometans*, is damning them for the Misfortune of being carried young to *Turkey*; whilſt their Brothers and Siſters are to be ſaved by ſtaying at home.

Unavoidable Ignorance. It is no leſs unjuſt to puniſh for unavoidable Ignorance. There are Millions of Souls, who never heard of the *Chriſtian* Faith; and ſeveral Countries, particularly certain Parts of *America*, have not had the Opportunity: ſo that it might be a Miracle to find the true Faith where it was never preached; eſpecially, ſince in *Europe* ſo many hear the Word, yet do not believe it. No one can require an Account to be given, where nothing was entruſted; nor ſhould any Man be puniſhed for breaking a Law, that was never promulged. *Caligula*, indeed, among his other ſenſeleſs Actions, ordered Laws to be written in

ſo

ſo ſmall a Character, and hung up ſo high, that no Man could read them: but we can entertain no ſuch malevolent Thoughts of God; who calls Mankind his Children, and permits us to call Him Father. A good Judge enquires into all the Circumſtances of a Caſe, before he pronounces; and God, who is Juſtice itſelf, will doubtleſs regard the Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons. This He gives us to underſtand by the Parable of greater and leſs Talents entruſted. A wicked Life is the great Infidelity that defeats Chriſtianity, and calls for Puniſhment: but Ignorance and Error are to be corrected by Inſtruction.

God no arbitrary Judge.

I hope I am always ready to alter my Opinion upon proper Evidence; but if the World was to join in holding God for an arbitrary Judge, I would remain by my Principle; wherein I think I cannot miſtake: and yet if I did miſtake, the Error could not be diſpleaſing to God. A Prince is not angry with his Subjects for declaring he does nothing contrary to Law; nor puniſhes merely for his own Pleaſure. I preſume God will regard even the greater and leſs natural Infirmities of Mankind; and paſs a milder Sentence upon a choleric, than upon a phlegmatic Man; upon a Man of ſlender Abilities, than upon one of greater Talents, *cæteris paribus*.

I know not whether it be raſh to believe, that God will judge of a Man's Death according to Circumſtances. We are all Sinners, and ſtand in need of Repentance, particularly when we draw near

near our End. Some die ſuddenly, and others of lingering Diſeaſes; ſome of Fevers and others of chronical Diſorders, that leave the Senſes clear to the laſt. The former are uſually judged unhappy, and the latter happy, in the Manner of their Death. I dare not pronounce; but as God is an upright Judge, before whom all Circumſtances appear; perhaps a ſerious Groan of one who dies ſuddenly, may avail as much as a Year's Penitence in a lingering Diſeaſe: otherwiſe it might ſeem, that thoſe who die of Apoplexies, or Calentures, are generally damned; and thoſe generally ſaved who die of Dropſies and Conſumptions: which is ſuppoſing Damnation and Salvation to depend upon the Nature of Diſeaſes. A Prince who orders his Servants to prepare for a Journey in a Hurry, expects leſs Foreſight to be uſed, than if he gave them longer Time: and doubtleſs God will make the proper Allowance, in iſſuing out the Order of Death; which is but a kind of Command to prepare for another Life. I cannot believe that God will damn Men for ſuch Things as are out of their Power to alter.

This appears to me ſo clear, that I wonder it can be thought God will not judge Men according to their Works; but independently thereof, according to his own arbitrary Pleaſure. It is ſaid, indeed, God does not damn *Heathens* or *Mahometans* for being born of *Heathen* or *Mahometan* Parents; but for neglecting to uſe their Underſtandings, and ſlighting the Means of Enquiry.

But

But even the moſt moral People generally adhere to the Religion in which they were educated. No Chriſtian denies that, if he had been born in a different Country, he ſhould have embraced the Faith of that Country: and if any Man were to deny it, he would ſpeak contrary to Experience.

Some having remarked this, drop the Argument; and ground their Doctrine upon certain Expreſſions of Scripture; as that "There is no "Salvation without Faith in Chriſt;" "He "who believes not, ſhall be damned" &c. &c. But ſince Divines confeſs, that in the Interpretation of Scripture, we muſt ſometimes recede from the Letter; and, in order to come at the true Meaning, compare one Paſſage with another; this Practice ſeems to be highly neceſſary, when the Queſtion is of no leſs Importance than the having right or wrong Notions of the Divine Attributes. Wherever, therefore, the Scripture declares that Unbelievers cannot be ſaved, we muſt underſtand by Unbelievers thoſe who are perverſely ſo; and not extend it to unavoidable Unbelief. When we find it ſaid, that God, out of his Good-Will and Pleaſure, "could create "Veſſels to Honour, and Veſſels to Diſhonour;" "could create to Salvation or to Damnation;" we are not to infer he has actually done this; or that his own Divine Attributes permit the doing of it; but that theſe Expreſſions only mean, if God ſhould have done it, his Creatures had no Right to aſk, "Why haſt thou made "me thus?" The Neceſſity of ſuch an Interpretation

Scripture how to be interpreted.

pretation appears from numerous other Paſſages of Scripture, where Mention is made of the Love of God towards Mankind, and his Purpoſe of opening the Door of Salvation to all. And upon this Footing one Part of the Scripture will agree with another, and the whole make Harmony.

Others, to get clear of the Difficulty, pretend, that Man muſt not limit the Omnipotency of God; nor judge of Divine Perfection according to human Imperfection; and that the Juſtice of God conſiſts in acting according to his own Will. But the Omnipotence of God is not infringed by aſſerting He will act according to his own Holineſs, and not contradict himſelf. To make God eſtabliſh that for Virtue which He condemns, and puniſhes, in Men, is not only deſtroying all Natural, but Reveal'd Religion; which expreſsly declares, that what he commends as Virtues in Men, are Attributes of his own. "Be ye merciful, as your Father is merciful."

We muſt hope that theſe ſevere Opinions will gradually grow milder. Indeed many Writers begin to mollify, and abate of this Rigour. In my Judgment, if theſe *Gordian* Knots cannot be ſolved, *Alexander*'s Sword ſhould be uſed. For, certainly, no Doctrine ought to be ſupported, that gives Mankind bad Impreſſions of God.

VII.

Of Faith and Impoſture.

TO compare the Shortneſs of the preſent Life, with the Eternity of the Future; and conſider the Rewards and Puniſhments to follow upon good or bad Actions, yet find ſo little true practical Religion upon Earth; one might almoſt ſuſpect there was no Faith among Mankind; but that all doubted, as to the Certainty of an Hereafter. There are few of us who, upon the Promiſe of a temporal Reward, would not labour to be good, or renounce our vicious Inclinations. A Drunkard will live ſober, a Profligate turn prudent, and a Rebel become obedient, to obtain Favours of their King. Many from the mere Motive of Hope, will force and ſubdue their Appetites and Paſſions, or even belye their own Natures, in Expectation of a Place or a Title: yet the King of Heaven and Earth, whoſe Promiſes cannot fail, and whoſe Rewards are eternal, does not prevail upon Men to quit their Vices, or ſuppreſs their inordinate Appetites. Whence it might ſeem as if the Faith we Chriſtians value ourſelves upon, was only nominal: for, really to believe a State of eternal Rewards and Puniſhments, and not live according to this Belief, is a Paradox of the firſt Magnitude. If we allow no Chriſtian Faith among Mankind, the Solution is eaſy: but ſuch a Suſpicion would be extravagant; ſince there have

Few Signs of Belief among Chriſtians.

have been thoſe who ſealed this Faith with their Blood.

To ſolve the Difficulty, we muſt allow Men ſo made, as to be more affected with ſmall Matters that are ſenſible and at Hand, than with the moſt momentous Things that are inviſible, and at a Diſtance. All Men know they are to die; yet do not ſhudder at Death, till the Hour approaches; when they ſee Him, as it were, Face to Face. Man, being immers'd in his Affections, is more moved by corporeal than mental Rewards and Puniſhments.

Marks of Impoſture. This Property has been remarked by Impoſtors, who accordingly made their Heaven to be tangible, fleſhly, and corporeal; and promiſed Men the full Enjoyment there, of all they delight in here. Carnal Promiſes are moſt effectual with the Multitude. Groſs Natures look upon ſpiritual Things as Non-entities; prefer Things they can enjoy with their Senſes; and are eaſily caught by a Paradiſe furniſh'd with the Apparatus for bodily Pleaſures, ſuitable to the prevailing Taſte of the Times, and Countries, they live in. The ancient Northern People delighted in Exerciſes, Trials of Manhood, ſtrong Beer and Metheglin; and had a correſponding Deſcription given them of their Hereafter. Other Nations, addicted to Women, have had a Paradiſe repreſented to them fill'd with Mahomet. beautiful Virgins. But no falſe Prophet has herein exceeded *Mahomet*; who thoroughly ſtudied the Temper and Inclination of his *Arabs*; and finding they chiefly delighted in cooling Winds, purling

purling Streams, Wine and Women; he filled all the Corners of his Heaven with this pleaſurable Furniture. And, probably if he had undertaken to found a Religion in other Countries, he would have, every where, adapted it to the reigning Taſte of the People; and have promis'd ſuch Pleaſures, in the next World, as he found them captivated with in this.

A Proof of the Chriſtian Religion.

Among the numerous cogent Arguments for the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Religion, I take this to be one; that it promiſes no other than ſpiritual Rewards to the Faithful; who are to be ſatisfied and enliven'd with the Hopes of enjoying the Beatific Viſion: which is ſuch a Thing, as fleſhly Mortals can have no Idea of, till they put off their Carnality, and are "born again "of the Spirit." For, we find, that many, even among the Religious, hanker after material Ideas, and bodily Notions of God, Angels and Heaven. Some Chriſtians conſider God under a human Form, Angels as winged Creatures, and Heaven as a City paved with Gold, or precious Stones. Such groſs Notions, being contrary to the Purity and Spirituality of the Chriſtian Religion, ſhould be rooted out of Men's Minds. The Paſſages of Scripture alledged to authorize theſe groſs Conceptions, ought to be explain'd by others, which ſhew them to be allegorical. I could wiſh no ſuch metaphorical Expreſſions were uſed in any Part of Divine Service; becauſe the People are apt to take them literally. Lead and Gold, Stone and Diamond, are alike precious with God; it is only Man's

Man's Folly, or Pride, that ſtamps a different value upon Things of this kind. We juſtly cenſure other Religions for giving groſs, material Deſcriptions of the Habitations of the Bleſſed; becauſe this proves thoſe Religions come not from God, but from the Brain of weak, or crafty Men. The *Chriſtian* Doctrine is ſpiritual, and treats the greateſt worldly Magnificence as Emptineſs and Vanity. Pompous mundane Deſcriptions are Blemiſhes, not Ornaments, to Revelation; and ſerve but to confound the pure and genuine Doctrine of Chriſtianity with abſurd and groundleſs Pretenſions, which require ſuch Trappings to cover the Cheat.

VIII.

Of ſpurious and genuine Devotion.

Counterfeit Religion or Hypocriſy.

THO' true and falſe Devotion differ as Light and Darkneſs, we ſeldom find them properly characterized. Devotion may be diſtinguiſhed into counterfeit, erroneous, and genuine.

Indeed, counterfeit Devotion ſhould rather be call'd Hypocriſy, and is an Impiety worſe than Atheiſm. The Atheiſt acknowledges no God, and acts accordingly. The Hypocrite openly avows God, but in his Heart and Actions diſhonours and blaſphemes him. The Atheiſt is like a Man who doubts of the King's Right to the Crown; and

and during this Doubt, refuſes the Oath of Allegiance, or pays no Obedience to Supremacy: but the Hypocrite is like one who publicly acknowledges the King for his lawful Sovereign; ſwears Fidelity to him; ſhews him external Signs of Duty and Honour; but privately grimaces him, traduces his Name, and tramples upon the Laws he pretends to obſerve. It is eaſy to ſee which of theſe is the more wicked.

Erroneous Religion of three Kinds.

Erroneous Devotion may be divided into myſtical, fanatical, and faſhionable. Myſtical Devotion, being the Offspring of ſolitary, recluſe People, uſually ſurpaſſes the Comprehenſion of others; and has no Uſe in Society. It is generally attended with ſome Diſorder of the Brain; whereby Men's Reveries paſs for Revelations. Myſtics neglect the principal Duties of Chriſtianity, whilſt they mean to perform them. By endeavouring to "unite themſelves with God," and put off all that is carnal, they turn to a kind of amphibious Creatures, that are neither Body nor Spirit; but reſemble Apparitions, or Witches; and become public Diſturbers. Their own Terror makes them repreſent God as a ſevere, cruel, and mercileſs Judge; whence they are in the greateſt Danger of falling into Infidelity. Fear and Deſpair produce the ſame Effects in the Myſtic, as licentious Pleaſure, and Hope of Impunity, do in the Atheiſt: both have their Ends if Religion be deſtroy'd. The Atheiſt would then be unreſtrained; and the Myſtic freed from his Yoke.

Myſtical,

Fanatical, Fanatical Devotion reſembles the Myſtical. It flows from a black Fountain, and ſhould rather be term'd Gloomineſs, than Godlineſs. Fanatics call Melancholy by the Name of Zeal; and hypochondrical Diſorders, they call Wars with the Devil. They are confirm'd in this Error by others, who repreſent theſe odious Infirmities of Body and Mind, in the Light of Virtues; and, when once rivetted in their Superſtition, they look upon themſelves as God's Heralds, and declare War againſt Mankind; condemn innocent Pleaſures; and call the Chearful carnal. Every Laugh with them is a Sin; and all rational Devotion, cold and lifeleſs. Their own Devotion is as unſteady, as if it changed with the Moon.

Faſhionable. Faſhionable Devotion is frequently miſtaken for genuine; though it conſiſts more in the Geſtures of the Body, and the Play of the Features, than in the Exertion of the Mind, or Emotion of the Heart. The faſhionably Devout punctually practiſes the Ceremonies of Religion. Hence a Man may paſs in the World for religious, by means of external Acts, wherein the Heart has no Share. A certain *Italian* alledged as a Proof of his Piety, that he frequently kiſs'd the *Pope*'s Slipper; and a *Spaniard*, that he had ſcourged himſelf upon a Good-Friday. *Paul Jove* proves the Devotion of *Leo* the Tenth, from the elegant Manner of his celebrating Maſs. *Ariſtobulus*, the Younger, was univerſally allow'd by the *Jews*, to be worthy of the High Prieſt-hood, becauſe he made the Offerings

Offerings with a good Grace: and ſome wou'd prove the Piety of the Emperor *Otto* from his Coat, which was embroider'd with the Hiſtory of the Revelation. I by no means condemn Ceremonies in Religion, but highly commend them; only, this I muſt ſay, that if unaccompanied with internal Purity of Heart, and Amendment of Life, they are no better than Buffoonery.

False Devotion from Misfortunes.

There is alſo a Species of Devotion ariſing from Affliction and Misfortune, Old-age, and the Fear of approaching Death. Neither do I pretend to cenſure this Devotion; but think it cannot be call'd genuine. We ſee by Sailors, how little Dependance is to be had upon Devotion ſhewn in Danger. Many Chriſtians endeavour to convince Unbelievers, by Arguments drawn from the Penitence of People upon their Death-Beds: but ſuch Arguments are not ſo ſolid, as when Mens Reformation appears in the Time of Health and Proſperity.

True Religion.

True Religion is the joint Refulgence of all the Virtues. It reſembles the Sun, "at whoſe "Sight all the Stars hide their diminiſh'd Heads." It breathes Benevolence and Love to Man. The truly Pious ſerve God, their Creator and Benefactor, with their whole Soul. They honour and love Him, not ſo much for the Sake of their promis'd Reward, as for the Benefits they have received; and are more actuated by Gratitude than Hope. They are ſevere to themſelves, and compaſſionate to others. They endeavour to reclaim the Erro-

neous, not by Severity, but Meekneſs. They are always ſimilar to themſelves; and ſerve God uniformly, not by Fits and Starts. They are at Peace with all Men. They comfort the Afflicted, ſupport the Diſtreſſed, and cloath the Naked. They neither exult in Proſperity, nor ſink in Adverſity; but remain contented with the Will of God, and patiently bear thoſe Afflictions He is pleas'd to lay upon them. They ſhew their Piety not in Theory, but in Practice; not in Words but Works. They are not led by Fear, Ambition, or worldly Intereſt, but by Love to the Author of their Being. They ſtrive to promote the Good of all Men; and labour to ſecure eternal Bliſs.

IX.

Of the Veneration due to God.

God not to be ſought in the Abſtract.

THE celebrated *Greek* Philoſopher, *Simonides*, being aſk'd by *Hiero*, King of *Syracuſe*, what God was, deſir'd a Day to conſider of it. When the King demanded an Anſwer, *Simonides* requeſted two Days; and went on doubling the Time; whereat the King wondering, *Simonides* declared, that "the longer he conſidered "the Subject, the more difficult it grew." This frank Acknowledgment of Ignorance, is a Proof of

of the Philoſopher's good Underſtanding; on account of which he was juſtly admired by his Cotemporaries. Certainly, there cannot be a greater Demonſtration of Folly, than pretending to deſcribe a Being, that is incomprehenſible.

Pomponius Mela mentions a certain Cavern, which had ſo agreeable an Appearance as to entice Travellers into it; but the farther they went, the greater Terror they were ſeized with; ſo that a deep reverential Awe ſoon obliged them to retire. St. *Auſtin* ſays, "God is a Subject of "which we can, and cannot diſcourſe; that He "may be highly venerated, and cannot be high-"ly venerated; may be compar'd, and cannot "be compar'd; may be deſcribed, but riſes "above Deſcription". Here, therefore, is the Limit of Man's Underſtanding. Here we are compelled to ſay, with *Simonides*, "the more we "think upon the Subject, the more difficult it "grows", or the more we ſtretch our Eyes, the leſs we ſee. This is an impenetrable Cypher, whoſe Key is not given to Man.

The Proof of God's Exiſtence is this. We plainly ſee a World, which appears to us unbounded; we ſee a moſt amazing Structure, which is as amazingly ſupported. We ſee in all the Parts of it Order, Art, and Beauty. We know all this cou'd not happen by Accident; but that there muſt have been a Maker, a Creator, or general Architect of the Whole. Hence we infer, there is an Eternal, Almighty, Omniſcient Being, God's Exiſtence.

Being, called God, who ſupports all Things. With this general Idea, deriv'd from ſenſible Objects, and intellectual Inference, we muſt be contented: for it is ſolely from the Creation, that we infer a Creator. If we attempt to go farther, and pretend to ſubtilize, or enquire whether God is an extended Being; after what Manner he fills Space; whether an extended Being can exiſt without Parts; what God's Eternity, Immenſity, Omniſcience, Omnipreſence, Omnipotence are, we ſink, and are loſt in the Enquiry.

Corporeal Ideas of God.

Some Philoſophers will be diſpleaſed with this Doctrine; and preſume the Anſwer of *Simonides* proceeded from a heatheniſh Blindneſs, of which Chriſtians are cured by Revelation; and alledge that *Tertullian*, particularly, ſpeaks of God, as of an intelligible Subject, by declaring that "the Ignorance of the Heathens, with reſpect to God, is "now ſo far diſpell'd, that every Chriſtian Mechanic finds Him out and ſhews Him." *Deum qui-libet Opifex Chriſtianus invenit, oſtendit*". But *Plato* declares, "the Creator of the World is not to "be found; and that if Man cou'd find Him, it "wou'd be impoſſible to deſcribe Him." I rather join with *Euclides*, who being queſtion'd about ſome Particularities of God's Eſſence and Attributes, replied, "I can ſay nothing to the Subject; I only know, that God does not approve of thoſe prying Perſons, who wou'd "be diſcovering his Secrets." Indeed *Tertullian*, with all his Learning, has ſhewn a ſtrange Blindneſs in Matters of this kind, which he pretends were

were known to every Chriſtian; for he has made many falſe Repreſentations of God; as of a corporeal Being, ſubject to Paſſions, and Affections. Others of the Fathers have not ſcrupled to attribute a human Form to God; and even to look upon thoſe as Heretics who held Him to be a Spirit. Old *Serapion* being prevailed upon to quit his erroneous Faith, believe in one God, and pray to Him; he fell into Tears, crying out, "they have "ſtolen away my God;" becauſe he had no bodily Image left to pray to.

Since the Times of *Origen*, the World has been commonly taught that God is a Spirit; yet it appears as if this had only been a Doctrine in Name: for we ſtill ſee Him painted in Churches, as a venerable old Man, with a long Beard. It is well known what a Diſturbance was rais'd in *Ruſſia* upon the Article of ſhaving; when many rather choſe to loſe their Lives than their Beards: and the Reaſon they gave for it was, that they ſaw God the Father painted with a Beard in their Churches. This groſs Idea has given Occaſion to various Doubts and Scruples concerning the Divine Power and Providence.

But the Error is ſtill more ſhocking to attribute Eyes, Ears, Hands, Feet, &c. to God. Many have ſtrangely err'd in explaining certain Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, where mention is made of the Hands, the Feet, &c. of God; and of his Wrath, Mercy, Grief, and other Paſſions; ſo as to make a human Idea of the Divine Being; without conſidering that theſe are only certain Forms of Speech, ſuited to the Comprehenſion

of an ignorant People. To be convinced hereof we need but compare ſuch Phraſes with others in different Parts of Scripture, where God is ſpoke of as an incomprehenſible Being. The Pſalmiſt and the Prophets agree with *Simonides*, that "God is unſearchable." But many ancient Interpreters have made a groſs and falſe Repreſentation of God, and propagated it down to Poſterity. And tho' they may alſo have taught that God is a Spirit, yet by Spirit they have only meant a kind of ſhadowy thin Subſtance, or Film of Body.

Our Notion of God improved by Aſtronomy.

The great Diſcoveries lately made in Aſtronomy, furniſh Mankind with much nobler Notions of God: and we muſt allow that Natural Philoſophers have ſublimer Thoughts of the Divine Being than the Vulgar. It has been ſaid, "where there are "three Mathematicians there are two Atheiſts:" but we may rather ſay, that no true Philoſopher can be an Atheiſt. Before the new Diſcoveries made in Aſtronomy, Men look'd upon our Earth as a large Part of the Univerſe; and of ſo great Conſequence, that all the Planets, the Sun, and the Stars were made for its Sake, and ſerved as Satellites to it. They held that the Earth was the only inhabited Globe; and that it ſtood perpetually ſtill; whilſt the whole Firmament, with all the Stars, turn'd round it every twenty four Hours; partly to light its Inhabitants, and partly for Ornament and Variety. Such grovelling Thoughts of the World, even Aſtronomers formerly entertain'd! As for the Common People,

People, they look'd upon the Stars to be little white Circles, like thoſe ſometimes painted upon Ceilings; and thought they moved round our Earth, which they took, at leaſt, to be one half of the Creation: for they divided all Things into two Portions, ſo as under the Name of Heaven and Earth to comprehend the Univerſe. The Opinion they had of the Earth's great Conſequence, made them believe every Man was allow'd a Star to wait upon him; that the Sun, Moon, and Planets, gave Notice by Eclipſes and other Signs, what was to happen upon the Earth; and that Comets appear'd, to foretell ſome great Misfortune; as that a Prince was to die, a Town to be taken, or a Battle to be fought. This Vanity went ſo far, that the heavenly Bodies were eſteem'd as Servants in waiting to perform menial Offices. It is related of a certain itinerant Saint, that the Sun uſed to come down and carry his Gloves. But in our Times, by means of Teleſcopes, and other Mathematical Inſtruments, we have acquir'd new Light in theſe Affairs; ſo that the whole Body of the Earth appears to us no bigger than a Grain of Sand, in compariſon of the Univerſe. The Earth and all the other Planets, revolve about the Sun, which is millions of Times bigger than the Earth. The whole ſolar Syſtem is but a Speck, in compariſon of that infinitely immenſe Syſtem, the Univerſe. Aſtronomers now generally agree that the Sun is only the neareſt fix'd Star to us, and that every one of the fix'd Stars is a Sun, which

which may have Planets revolving about it; whence there may be as many Syſtems of Worlds as there are ſingle fix'd Stars. If we conſider what an immenſe Number of Stars are viſible to the naked Eye, and how many Thouſands more may be diſcover'd by the Teleſcope; then imagine ourſelves, from the Milky-Way, to diſcover an infinite Number of Stars at a Diſtance; and at the ſame Time reflect that there may be as many in the other Hemiſphere: this takes in ſuch a Stretch of Extent, ſuch infinite Numbers of Syſtems of Worlds, ſuch an amazing Grandeur of Creation upon Creation, that we may well cry out with Aſtoniſhment and Rapture, "What a ſu-"perlatively great and incomprehenſible Being "muſt He be, who has produced and ſupports "ſuch an infinite Syſtem!" Then we ſhould own with *Simonides*, that the more we ſaw, and the more we thought of this immenſe Being, the more our Underſtanding is maſter'd; and readily acknowledge it wou'd be Folly to attempt the Deſcription of God.

God undeſcribable.

The *French* Philoſopher, *Charron*, declares it "the moſt audacious Folly for Man to think "of deſcribing God's Nature, or ſaying what "He is. Human Underſtanding, and the Li-"mits of created Beings are infinitely too ſcan-"ty for this Purpoſe. God's Nature is ſome-"what that can neither be conceiv'd nor ex-"preſs'd. There is no Compariſon betwixt In-"finite and Finite; and no aſcending from the "laſt to the firſt. The ſtrongeſt Genius here "riſes

" riſes no higher than the weakeſt. The ſu-
" blimeſt Philoſopher, the moſt learned Divine,
" knows no more of God, than the meaneſt
" Mechanic. Where there is no Way nor Paſ-
" ſage, there is no Short or Long. God's Na-
" ture, Eternity, Omnipotence, Infinity, are
" Words ſpoke to the Air, and do not affect us;
" being unintelligible to Man. If all that we
" ſay of God's Nature and Eſſence were care-
" fully examin'd, we ſhou'd find it groſs Ignorance
" and Folly. A venerable Ancient pronounced
" it dangerous to ſpeak of God, even tho' we
" ſhou'd happen to ſpeak true: becauſe ſuch
" ſublime Truths may be defil'd in our Thoughts
" and Mouths. Nor can we be ſure they are juſt.
" It muſt be by Chance if we gueſs right: for
" here we are blind, or remain without Cer-
" tainty. It is therefore dangerous to ſpeak
" of God with Doubt and Uncertainty; whilſt
" we do not know, whether He is pleas'd
" with ſuch Diſcourſe; tho' we wholly rely up-
" on his Goodneſs, and hope He will not be
" offended at our ſpeaking of Him, with a Deſign
" to honour Him as far as we are able. But
" who knows, with Certainty, whether this Con-
" fidence itſelf be pleaſing to God? The ſureſt
" Way would be, for the Soul, after having
" made a general Rejection of Ideas, ſingly and
" alone to exert itſelf, as *in Vacuo*, and Im-
" menſity; procure a deep and holy Calm,
" ſilent Wonder, awfull Reverence, and repre-
" ſent to itſelf a bright Abyſs, without Limits

" or

" or Bounds, without Height or Depth, & not " dwell upon any Thing elſe, that may ariſe in " the Imagination; but remain as if totally ab- " ſorbed, entranced, and loſt in Immenſity. This " agrees with the Doctrine of the Holy Saints, " who teach, that our Knowledge of God is " perfect Ignorance of his Nature. To draw " near unto God, is no more than acknowledge- " ing a Light, which no Man can approach " without being loſt. So far we may acknow- " ledge Him, in being truly ſenſible that He is " God over all, and cannot be properly acknow- " ledged. To praiſe God the moſt eloquently " is to remain awfully ſilent, and adore Him in " the Stillneſs of our Souls. But as it is diffi- " cult, and almoſt impoſſible, for the Soul long " to perſevere in ſuch a State; we ſhou'd purely " repreſent God to ourſelves as a Good, Power- " full, and Intelligent Being, who has a Re- " gard to our Welfare; and that it is not in " the Power of Man to frame ſuch an Idea of " the Godhead, as he ought to honour and " adore as God, &c." Thus far *Charron*, who ſhews a ſublime Manner of thinking about God, and a low one of ourſelves; both of them ſo pathetically, as might make us humble enough never to uſe the Name of God without the deepeſt Veneration; nor venture to addreſs Him in Prayer, but with the utmoſt Decency and Humility.

The Reverence due to God.

Theſe Matters are not ſufficiently regarded: for by the Manner of addreſſing, which many Men

Men uſe to God, it appears they do not think reverently enough of Him.

The *Mahometans*, how groſs ſoever they may otherwiſe be in their Religion, pray with a more decent and becoming Behaviour than ſome Chriſtians. The *Mahometans* ſtand, as if entranc'd, during the time of Prayer. Many Heathens have been ſhock'd at certain Expreſſions in the Prayers of Chriſtians. In the Account of the *Tranquebar* Miſſion, we find the Interpreter was obliged to alter the Style, and raiſe the Expreſſion uſed in Catechiſing the Converts; from judging the *European* Form not ſufficiently venerable with reſpect to God. In Prayer.

Praying conſiſts not in the Number but Weight of Words; and the Weight of Prayer muſt needs be little when the Mind is unattentive, or turn'd another Way, and only the empty Sound offer'd up to God. May I be permitted to deliver my Thoughts upon ſo momentous a Subject? The Matter deſerves the moſt ſolemn Attention. I may err in my Notions; yet cannot expect a ſevere Rebuke from thoſe who have any tolerable Notion of God; or ſoberly reflect in what a tremendous Affair poor Man is engaged, when he preſumes to converſe with ſo infinitely great, and incomprehenſible a Being!

When we preſent ourſelves as Supplicants before God, it ſhould doubtleſs be done with the utmoſt Reverence, and Veneration, in Thought, Words and Geſture. This Maxim has led me

to

to enquire into our common Forms of Prayer; and examine not only their Contents, but their Intention; and to obſerve ſome Particulars, which, in my humble Opinion, require Alteration or Amendment.

Church-Muſic. I do not reject Church-Muſic and Singing: I rather judge them proper and decent in Thankſgivings and Rejoicings. But in the Confeſſion of our Sins, Petitions for Grace or Mercy, and Deprecations of Puniſhment, I judge it more ſuitable that the Prayers ſhou'd be gravely ſaid, than ſung, or ſkilfully accompanied with Muſic. I diſapprove of all quick lively Airs play'd in the Church. Nor do I approve of the ſetting of Tunes, for Church-Muſic, ſo as to make a ſingle Word of no Importance paſs through twenty different Tones. It might be better if every Word and Syllable had its proper Tone, as was practiſed by the Ancients, and is, at preſent, us'd in Recitative.

Prayer not to be minutely particular. As to the Phraſeology of our public Prayers, I do not reject certain Expreſſions, becauſe they have been approv'd by the Examples of great Saints; yet ſome of theſe Expreſſions do not ſound well to my Ear. I do not condemn Prayers for Rain, Fair-weather, &c. yet confeſs, if I were to draw up a Form of Prayer, I ſhould never deſcend to minute Particulars: becauſe, what is uſeful to me, may be prejudicial to my Neighbour; as the Rain or Sun-ſhine which refreſhes, or ripens, my Corn, may hurt his; and the Wind that brings my Ship into Port, may keep others in Danger. Beſides, I have remark'd that this

Practice

Practice has occaſion'd a kind of Superſtition among the Vulgar. When one Clergy-man prays for Rain, or Fair-weather, and the Effect does not follow; but afterwards the Rain or Fair-weather happen upon the Praying of another, the People are apt to make a Difference betwixt the Petitioners: tho', perhaps, they may both have pray'd with equal Devotion.

I am of Opinion, that our public Prayers ſhou'd only be general, for the King and Country; ſince in all good Governments, the King is ſo united to his Subjects, that their mutual Welfare cannot be ſeparated. It might be well to pray for the Fertility of the Land in general; or better ſtill, that God wou'd pleaſe to give us what he ſees moſt neceſſary for us, in Imitation of *Agur's* Prayer; "Give me neither Poverty nor Riches," &c. And we find this kind of Prayer approv'd of by Heathens. *Johannes Damaſcenus* relates, that the *Pedulians*, a certain People of *India*, begg'd of God nothing but Juſtice. *Apollonius Tyanæus* judges, that Prayers ſhou'd be compos'd after this Example: "give me O Lord! what "may be ſerviceable to me". *Socrates* commends the following Prayer of an ancient Poet. "O *Jupiter!* give us what is good for us, whe-"ther we aſk it or no; and grant not what is bad "for us, even tho' we aſk it". To the ſame Purpoſe are theſe noble Lines of *Juvenal:*

Heathen Prayer.

Permittes ipſis expendere Numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebuſque ſit utile noſtris;

Nam

Nam pro jucundis, aptiſſima quæque dabunt Di:
Carior eſt illis Homo quam ſibi.

Our Religion is circumſtantial enough in itſelf; and needs not be render'd more ſo, by praying for numerous temporal Things, upon which it is not founded. Nor ought the Faith of the common People to be corrupted; who remain unſatisfied with being told, that our Petitions are not heard by reaſon of our Sins. But I take not upon me to reject any public Form of Prayer. I only deliver my Opinion, and ſubmit it to the Judgement of others.

Praiſe. With the ſame Deference I ſpeak of Songs of Praiſe, and Thankſgiving for Victories obtain'd over our Enemies; and inſtead of cenſuring ſuch Songs, I only confeſs myſelf ſurpriz'd at their being us'd upon the fortuitous Accidents of War: becauſe this kind of Devotion appears to me like a Man's thanking God, after a Duel, for the accidental killing of his Antagoniſt. It ſeems ſafer to beg that God wou'd incline the Hearts of our Enemies to Peace, than to petition Him for Victory, which cannot be obtain'd without Bloodſhed; and to appear before Him rather in a mournful than a joyful Manner, upon receiving Advantage by the Slaughter of Mankind. To pray for the Deſtruction of our Enemies, is praying and curſing in the ſame Breath.

Diſculpation. If I had the Honour of being a Preacher, I ſhou'd not make frequent Mention of the Devil,

as

as the Prompter to Wickedneſs; but generally lay the Blame upon Men: for, to be accuſing Satan upon all Occaſions, is like pronouncing Mankind faultleſs. No body doubts that the Devil is a ſubtile Deceiver; but we are not to bring unjuſt Accuſations againſt him. We have great Reaſon to queſtion whether this kind of Excuſe, and ſhifting off Blame, will paſs with God. Judges do not mitigate their Sentence upon this Account; but condemn Malefactors to Death, and leave them to throw the Blame upon the Devil.

Theſe Remarks may perhaps meet with a cool Reception, becauſe they oppoſe the Practices of all Times and Countries. And I acknowledge it is particular, to diſſent from Opinions receiv'd by all Mankind, and confirm'd by conſtant Uſe: yet Experience ſhews, that how univerſal or ancient ſoever an Opinion has been, it poſſibly may receive Alteration, or Improvement. General Opinions have frequently ariſen from a ſingle Perſon; and if once a Notion comes to be approved, or receiv'd, by ſome few venerable Men, it may eaſily become univerſal: for, Opinions are readily propagated by the Similarity of our Natures. Numerous Doctrines, held as general Principles in the laſt Century, are, at preſent, rejected as Errors; tho' till of late no body doubted of their Truth.

Errors in Prayer to be rectified.

As God commands us to pray, we are certainly obliged to obſerve His Commandments; but He being omniſcient, and underſtanding our Wants better than we do, it is unneceſſary to lay before Him the Reaſon of our

Prayers. God ſtands in no need of Information, becauſe He knows all Things. When we beg of Him to deliver us out of Diſtreſs, we need not recount the Accidents that brought us into it.

Many Errors have crept into Divinity for want of having a tolerable Idea of the Divine Being we worſhip. They who imagine God to be like unto Men, rather pay him bodily than ſpiritual Homage. This perhaps was the Origin of Offerings, Sacrifices, and groſs Forms of Speech addreſs'd to God; the raiſing of the Voice, in Prayer, to expreſs Earneſtneſs, &c. as if God cou'd not otherwiſe be affected, or brought to attend. Theſe groſs Ideas may have occaſion'd Men's uſing Explanations and Periphraſes in Prayer; upon finding the like neceſſary in Applications and Addreſſes to Princes and Judges, to inform them by Atteſtations, and Explanations, of the Juſtice of the Cauſe, or the Grounds of the Petition. But we ſhou'd always remember, that, in Prayer, we addreſs a Being infinitely wiſe and omniſcient.

This Remark has ſtill a deeper Root; for, explanatory-Prayers contain a kind of Reproach. A Servant may, without Offence, apply to his Maſter for Wages due; but if he declares, as his Motive, that he wants Money to purchaſe Neceſſaries, there is a kind of Reproach couch'd in the Reaſon aſſign'd. When we beg of God to aſſiſt us, there is nothing offenſive in our Petition; but if we add the Reaſons of our Addreſs, and

and aſk Aſſiſtance becauſe we have ſuffer'd Miſfortunes, this ſeems to caſt a Reflection upon God.

Some may object, that it muſt needs be difficult to pray, if all theſe Rules are either to be obſerved, or the Petitioner to ſtand in a bad Light; and therefore may deſire a Specimen of a proper Form of Prayer. But Chriſt himſelf has been pleas'd to give us one; and commanded us to uſe it. I preſume theſe Thoughts are conſonant to that Form, and am perſuaded no body can do amiſs, who regulates his Addreſſes to God by ſo perfect a Pattern as the *Lord's-Prayer*. The Lord's Prayer.

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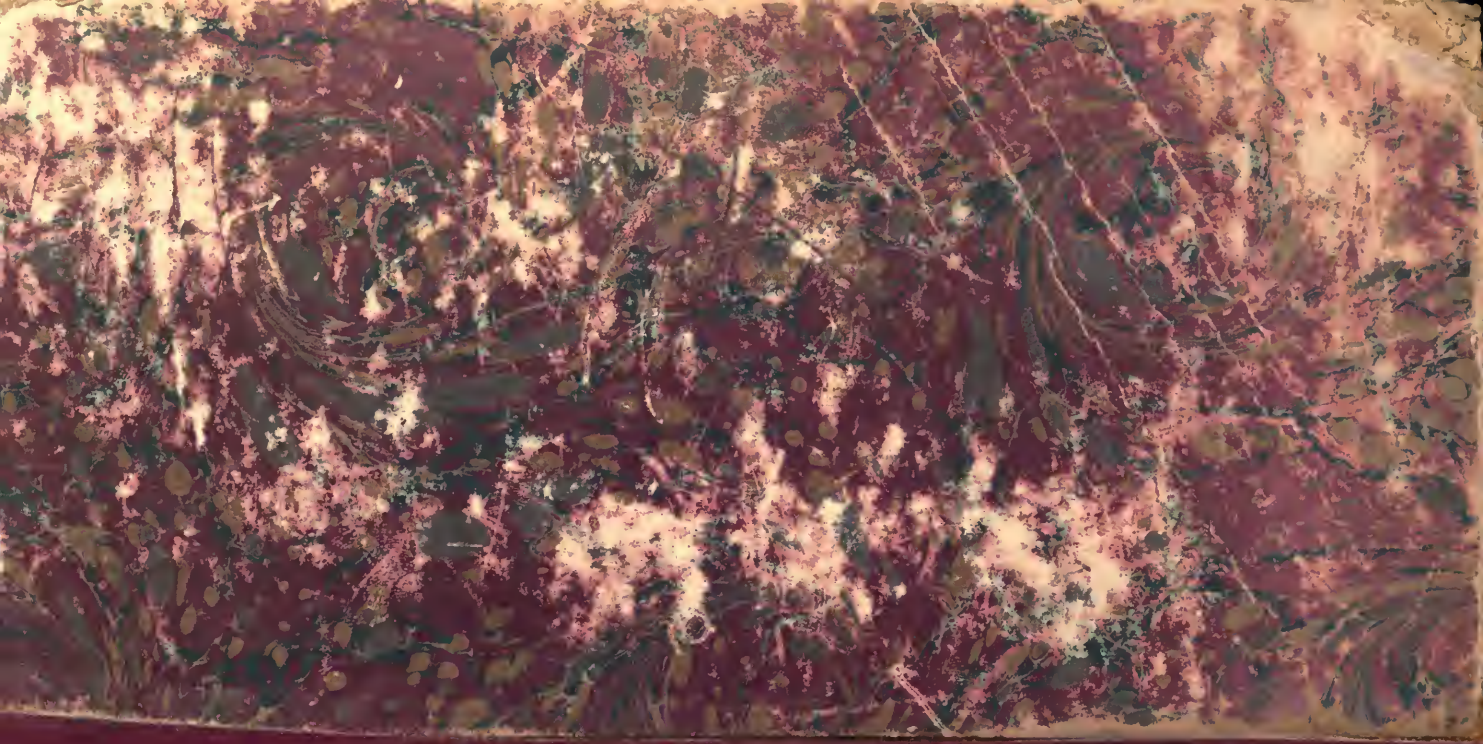
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